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Qualitative Analysis of Jet Boat Users on the Salmon River/Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness: Final Project Report for Phase II

BioSketches and Data Excerpts

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This research was supported in part by funds provided by the Aldo Leopold Wilderness Research Institute, Rocky Mountain Research Station, Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

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INTRODUCTION

The Forest Service is preparing an Environmental Impact Statement as part of a planning effort for the Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness. While jet boat users on the Salmon River may be significantly affected by decisions made during the planning process, the Forest Service has little information about the nature of jet boaters' experiences and the nature of their relationship to the Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness/Salmon River (FCRNW) and therefore has limited ability to assess how planning decisions will affect this user group. This represents one of a series of studies designed to generate knowledge that will be useful in helping the Forest Service assess the impacts of various management decisions on this user group.

This project report is based on the second phase of a two part qualitative study. In this phase, in-depth interviews ranging from 25 minutes to two hours were conducted with 20 jet boaters. Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. The database therefore consists of the text of the interviews rather than numerical responses of the type often used in mail or telephone surveys. Analysis of the interviews focused on identifying, interpreting, and presenting themes important for describing interview participants' relationship to place and the nature of their jet boating experiences.

The study results are presented in two reports. The first report contains an "across individual" analysis. This report explores the phenomenon of jet boating on the Salmon River in the FCRNW and presents themes and findings that have relevance for planning decisions involving jet boaters in general. The second report contains two sections. The first section contains bio-sketches of interview participants. These bio-sketches represent a brief characterization of each individual jet boater's relationship to place, jet boating experiences, use ethic, and other relevant issues. The bio-sketches represent the researcher's interpretation/summary of these issues based on analysis of the interview data but do not contain the actual data. Instead, the biosketches include references to excerpts from the actual interview which allow a reader to assess the basis for the interpretation. These reference numbers can be matched to excerpts contained in the second part of this report ("Data Excerpts"). This latter section of the report contains the actual interview (the data). However, the interview has been "reconstructed" ("cleaned" of extraneous or inconsequential verbalizations and reorganized according to themes relevant to the study). In some ways this second section of the report is like printing out "frequency distributions" in a traditional mail survey. It is the "raw" data organized by topic so readers can have access to the actual data to draw their own conclusions or independently assess the basis for the interpretations presented in the second report. Just as importantly, these excerpts provide additional depth of insight into the individual's relationship to place, nature of experience, etc. that the brief summaries contained in the bio-sketches do not capture. The goal of these latter two sections is to help promote an understanding of jet boaters as a group of real-life, tangible individuals rather than as a more distant, statistical aggregate of characteristics. Used in conjunction with the larger, mail survey conducted by the Aldo Leopold Wilderness Research Institute, these sections will hopefully provide a deeper understanding of this user group.

STUDY APPROACH

Study Sample

A major concern in assessing the validity of research is the issue of the representativeness of the data. Traditionally, representativeness is thought of in population-level terms: are the results representative of (generalizable to) the population being studied?

This is typically achieved through relatively large, random samples. However representativeness also has a second meaning: how well (accuracy, completeness, depth) the findings represent the actual subject being studied. Often there is a tradeoff between these two forms of representativeness - the more specific our understanding of the individual, the less that understanding generalizes to other people. At times specificity in the depth of understanding is more desirable than generalizability. This can be the case when exploring the nature of experiences. For example traditional survey research is adequate for identifying the importance of broad dimensions of the experiences visitors seek (e.g., enjoying nature). However, it is less well suited for exploring or describing the nature of the experience. For example, someone on a week long hunting trip in the FCRNW might say enjoying nature is extremely important just as someone driving through Yellowstone National Park for the day might say it is extremely important. However the nature and dynamics of these two experiences are vastly different. These types of distinctions are more readily captured in open ended interviews. Additionally in situations involving communication with a small and identifiable number of spokespersons or opinion leaders, richness or depth of understanding of those individuals can be as important as a more general understanding of the broader population. For these reasons, this research project focused on generating a more in-depth understanding of a smaller number of individuals.

In the first phase of the project, interviews were conducted with five members of the Western Whitewater Associations' committee responding to the Draft Environmental Impact Statement for the FCRNW. These were key spokespersons and opinion leaders representing an organized group whose members jet boat on the Salmon. The second phase of the study, which is presented in this report, sought to address concerns about whether the 5 individuals interviewed in the first phase of the study adequately represented the variation in, or range of, experiences/relationships to place within the broader jet boating population. However, richness of understanding of the experience/relationship to place was still considered highly important.

The goal of the second phase of this qualitative research project (which entailed an additional 20 interviews) can best be described as an attempt to identify and describe "representative types" of experiences among jet boat users rather than to produce statistically generalizable results. In other words, the goal of sampling was not to determine the extent to which different types of experiences and meanings are distributed across the population of private jet boat users, but to outline and describe in rich detail the range of experiences and meanings associated with jet boat use on the Salmon River in the FCRNW. Therefore, purposive rather than random sampling was used to select a diverse sample representing an array of different experiences.

To try and ensure diversity in the sample, two primary criteria were used to select the sample of interview participants. The first criterion was "nature of jet boat use." Three different categories were defined to represent this dimension: jet boat operators, passengers, and landowners who used jet boats to access their land holdings on the Salmon River. The second criterion was organizational affiliation. Three categories were identified: Western Whitewater Association members, Northwest River Runners, and unaffiliated jet boaters. The goal was to distribute the 20 individuals interviewed across these categories (with slightly greater emphasis given to operators over passengers). Interviews were conducted at a place chosen by the interview participants and were set up with specific individuals selected on the basis of these sampling criteria. However, when the interviewer arrived at the agreed upon interview site, he frequently found that a husband and wife both wished to participate or that the original contact had invited one or more friends to participate in the interview. We felt these situations would provide richer insights into understanding these jet boaters due to the tendency for respondents to "build off" each others' comments and because these usually were people who went jet boating together. Therefore we conducted group interviews when these situations occurred.

Interviews

Because the goal was to understand the nature and meaning of the experience from the respondents' personal perspectives, interviews were open-ended and flexible rather than based on a single, standardized set of questions. However, an interview guide identifying themes to be addressed in the interview and a series of possible lead-in questions for each theme were developed to ensure that interviews were systematic and focused enough to cover relevant and comparable (across interviews) information. Interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed.

Data Analysis

Interviews were analyzed by developing an organizing system. The purpose of an organizing system is to identify predominant themes through which interviews can be meaningfully organized, interpreted, and presented. The process of developing an organizing system is the "analysis," while the final organizing system is the product of the analysis. The development of an organizing system is a systematic process beginning with the identification of meaning units (segments of the interview that are comprehensible on their own; these represent the data or basic unit of analysis), followed by the identification of themes (these represent the researcher's interpretation of what one or more meaning units reveal regarding the phenomenon being studied), and ending with an analysis of the interrelationship among themes. In the presentation of results, rather than using the interview participants' real first name, pseudonyms are used.

RELATIONSHIP TO PLACE: SUMMARY OF INTERPRETATIONS

Howard and Tammy - Operator/Passenger, Club Members

Howard and his wife Tammy have owned a jet boat since 1979, although Howard has been riding on power boats on rivers since 1969. Tammy is primarily a passenger. They joined the Northwest River Runners last year. Both grew up in the area. Tammy remembers being amused by the first rafters she saw who would pay more than a hundred dollars to float the river she floated on innertubes (excerpt #1[1]). Howard remembers meeting some of the key figures who are now part of the folk history of the region such as Buckskin Billy and Francis Zaunmiller (excerpts #2, #3). This long personal history with the Salmon River system has led to a deep attachment to the place. As Howard expressed it "to me, it's a part of my life. I can't imagine not living on a river like this, you know, and the things that it gives you" (excerpt #4).

Their relationship to the river is also strongly shaped by another factor, Howard's disability. Currently 57 years old, he has been disabled since the age of 29. It was this disability that in part motivated his purchase of a jet boat. He enjoys fishing and his initial power boating trips were from friends and other river users who saw him fishing on the dock and offered him rides so he could fish other portions of the river (excerpts #3, 5, 6). Last year Howard and Tammy purchased a new jet boat and put 130 hours on it. He estimated that 75% of that time was on the lower Salmon River while the rest was primarily on the Snake. He last jet boated in the upper Salmon 4-5 years ago.

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[1] The excerpt number matches excerpt numbers contained in the next section of this report (DATA EXCERPTS). These excerpts are the actual segments of the interview and represent the basis or justification for the interpretation presented in the bio-sketches. The data excerpts presented in next section of the report are also important because they provide deeper insights into issues than are captured in the brief summaries contained in the bio-sketches.

Descriptions of their jet boating experiences on the Salmon River emphasize several dimensions. Discussions of the activity of jet boating emphasize the thrill, skill required, and the respect this engenders both for the river and the people who have the courage and ability to boat (or float) the river (excerpts #7-13). The skill required to jet boat on the Salmon is viewed as one of the unique and defining characteristics of the Salmon River (#14-15). In fact, the Salmon's reputation as a difficult river was described as a barrier for many jet boaters (excerpt #16).

Beyond the activity of boating, the human/cultural history of the area, ranging from Indians to mining, is one of the most significant dimensions of the experience (excerpt #17). The opportunity to experience nature is also described as a significant dimension of the experience. Jet boating provides access that offers opportunities to enjoy the wildlife and prehistoric fish, to "[feel] good knowing that you were part of nature," and to relax in a quiet and remote setting (excerpts #18-21). Throughout, these two dimensions of the experience, opportunities to share these experiences with family, especially children, are emphasized.

Given Howard's disability, jet boating is important because it provides the opportunity for him to access the Salmon independently. Though he at one time used to raft the Salmon, and enjoyed this way of experiencing the river very much, he (with Tammy's urging) felt compelled to give up rafting because he could not adequately control a raft (excerpt #22). In contrast, the jet boat, although it requires a high level of skill, is something he has the ability to control. This opportunity to experience the river independently via the jet boat is important not only for the freedom it offers in choosing how to experience the river (excerpt #23), but also because it creates an opportunity to gain the respect of his peers (excerpt #24). Attempts to eliminate or limit jet boating therefore are perceived as a serious threat. It is also seen as an unjust and selfish action; in their desire simply "not to see anybody" the young, strong, and healthy are shutting down the area to the disabled, elderly, and children (excerpts #25-26).

In several portions of the interview, Howard and Tammy referred to wilderness. Descriptions of the Salmon River (both the lower and upper portion that actually runs through the wilderness) suggested a view of wilderness which, to some extent, overlapped with concepts underlying the Wilderness Act - there are "no roads," "you're at the mercy of the river," and you have to think about survival (excerpt #12). And, as noted earlier, Howard felt that his ability to negotiate this wilderness in his jet boat led to respect among his peers (excerpt #24). However, another section of the interview suggests an understanding of wilderness that diverges somewhat from the view expressed in the Wilderness Act in that Howard's image of wilderness accommodates a limited amount of permanent human habitation (excerpt #27). In fact, despite his description of the Salmon region as wilderness, he was keenly aware of, and interested in, the human history of the area (excerpts #2, #3, #17) and the continued human presence (excerpts #28 and 29). Like some of the other local jet boaters interviewed, for Howard the area was not just a wilderness without people, it was a place with a sense of community among those who lived on and/or used the river (see for example excerpts #2, #3, #5, #29). Thus, for Howard and Tammy, this historical and current sense of community coexisted without conflict with the image of the river as a roadless area where one is at the mercy of the river and has to think in terms of survival.

The responses during the interview suggest a use ethic with several dimensions. A major theme in the use ethic, driven in part by Howard's disability, was the concern for maintaining opportunities to access and use the place, especially for kids, the elderly, and disabled. They recognized the need for regulation if use levels were too high, and comments suggested some concern about current use levels in the summer. However, they felt more attention needed to be given to the issue of equity in regulation - the overuse is associated with the number rafters, by comparison the number of jet boaters is insignificant (excerpt #30). In fact, overall the use problem comes from the high level of commercial, not private users (excerpt #31). Howard and Tammy also expressed the concern that current processes were driven by "special interest groups" at the expense of the local community (excerpts #30-32). In addition to equity in distribution of use on the Salmon itself, Howard and Tammy were concerned that planning for use on the Salmon take into account equity in terms of distribution of use on rivers within the entire region where currently only 31 of 34 rivers allow jet boating (excerpt #33).

In addition to emphasizing equitable opportunities for use, another dimension of Howard and Tammy's use ethic emphasized stewardship "keeping clean what you enjoy, that's what it's all about" (excerpt #34). The Northwest River Runners club activities provide an opportunity for the community of jet boat users to practice stewardship (excerpts #34, 41). Howard and Tammy also indicated they clean the river on their individual trips (excerpt #35).

Several of the excerpts presented above suggest a growing tension between local and nonlocal users. The tension is most significant when it comes to the issue of limiting access at the expense of the local community (e.g, excerpt #30-32) whom Howard and Tammy perceive are the ones who actually take a greater stewardship responsibility for the resource (excerpt #35). In addition to access though, tensions are driven by differences in standards of acceptable behavior (excerpts #36-37) and perceptions of "ownership" of the resource (excerpt #38).

Finally, the interview briefly touched on three other issues related to their relationship to the place. Related to the respect for the river and perceptions of the difficulty in navigating it in a jet boat, Howard did briefly mention the importance of having the opportunity to learn specific sections of the river from experienced users (excerpt #40). Additionally, with regard to club membership, while he did feel the clubs played an important stewardship role (excerpts #34, 41), he indicated that his primary motivation for joining was political - to protect jet access to the rivers (excerpt #42).

Bart, Linda, Gary, & David - Operators/Passenger, Club Members/Unaffiliated

This interview was conducted with a husband and wife (Bart and Linda) and two friends (David and Gary). As Linda noted, they have been boating on the river since "before everybody else discovered it basically" (31)[2]. Bart started jet boating in 1972 and he and has been doing it heavily for about 12 years. The first time David jet boated the Salmon was 1968. Gary jet boated with a guide in 1982 and has owned his own boat for 3 or 4 years. Gary had not been on the Salmon for a couple of years, the rest had jet boated on it as recently as last year. Linda showed particularly strong attachment to the place; her parents used to live on the upper Salmon and for her, visits were like going home (excerpts #1-3). However, all of the group had an extensive history with the river system, one that predated wilderness designation (excerpt #4). As with some of the other jet boaters, responses showed a keen awareness of human presence along the Salmon River system and suggested a sense of community among the inhabitants, among river users, and with the area itself (excerpts #5-10).

Among these interview participants, the designated wilderness boundary itself is not viewed as capturing or corresponding to a unique resource. Instead, the general physical character of the area is in many ways similar to the whole of Idaho (mountains and timber and wildness) which is what they like about the state. Similarly, the wilderness designation for the area does not change their experience or image of the place, although they recognize it likely does for outsiders. In fact, this latter issue is one of the negatives they believe that accompanies wilderness designation - it attracts people. Another negative is that it comes with rules and regulations that limit freedom (excerpts #11-14).

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[2] Numbers in parentheses without a "#" in front are locations of statements in the original, unreconstructed interviews. These serve as an aide to the researcher rather than the reader of this report.

However, while the wilderness designation/boundaries are not associated with a unique resource, the Salmon River system is viewed as having unique characteristics. The canyon is distinctively deep and somewhat remote and the river itself is distinguished by the prevalence of rapids and difficulty in navigating the river (excerpts #15-17).

Boating itself is a significant part of the experience enjoyed both by operators and passengers (excerpt #18). However, it requires a great deal of skill and can be stressful for the operators (excerpts #19-20). The difficulty and skill required to boat the river generate a sense of respect both for the river (excerpt #21) and for those who have the ability to operate a jet boat on the river (excerpt #22). Additionally, because of the difficulty, passengers who enjoy the boating experience do not necessarily want the stress that accompanies piloting a jet boat (excerpt #23). Additionally, while the boating itself is a part of the experience, these interview participants emphasized they are not in it to race boats on the river. Instead they maintain they are seeking a family outing (excerpt #25) with opportunities to enjoy nature (especially the wildlife); peace and solitude; and the cultural history of the area (excerpts #26-28).

While the activity of jet boating is viewed as an important and enjoyable part of the experience, there is also a tendency to describe the river and jet boating merely as a means of accessing the area (excerpt #7, 29). As with some of the other local boaters they are concerned that if this means of access is eliminated, the elderly or the handicapped would not be able access and enjoy the area (excerpt #30). And as with some of the other local jet boaters, this was not just a hypothetical concern, Gary's wife has rheumatoid arthritis and was greatly concerned about attempts to keep jet boats off the river (excerpt #31).

Although this group did not literally use the term "responsible shared use" as did some of the other jet boaters interviewed, their underlying use ethic does seem to fit within this broad idea. They clearly acknowledged the need to keep an eye on, and at some point manage, use levels (excerpt #32). They also recognized that some "inconveniences" may currently exist for both parties: for rafters the possibility of noise pollution (although they feel that the sound of jet boats does not travel far) [excerpt #33] while for jet boaters delays at rapids or having to encounter large parties of rafters at campsites (excerpts #33, 34). However, while these situations may be inconvenient at times, they also note positive factors that in part offset the inconveniences - just as they enjoy watching rafters go through the rapids, they believe that rafters in general enjoy watching jet boats (an impression supported by David's experiences with rafters on the trips he has guided (excerpts #35, 36) and their own rafting experiences). Further, they also feel that jet boat use on the upper Salmon itself is extremely limited (excerpt #37). With this frame of mind and in line with the description of these issues as "inconveniences," this group feels that objections to jet boating come from a few selfish radicals (excerpts #38, 39). Additionally, like a number of other jet boaters they feel that some outfitters contribute to the potential for conflict because they are "selling" an inappropriate view of the experience to make a profit (excerpts #40, 41).

While the discussion of use and use ethic above focuses on the amount of use and its impact on the experience, the comments also suggest that these boaters' use ethic includes a stewardship dimension. They recognize that use is going to impact the area, but they currently feel that the area is not being damaged, that the condition of campsites has improved, and that current users are responsible about taking care of the resource they are using (excerpts #42-45).

As the comments above indicate, based on their own experiences the respondents do not perceive serious problems are occurring with respect to the experience or the resource at current use levels. However, they are aware of the current planning process and its focus on management and view the process with a great level of mistrust. They have the impression that decisions are being made by distant decision makers who have a predetermined agenda of keeping use at the low end of the scale (whether there is any legitimate justification for it or not) and that studies exploring the necessity of limiting use are being ignored (excerpts #46-47). Further, when research is discussed at some of the public meetings, they question the relevance and legitimacy of the underlying values the research seems to reflect (e.g., are economic goals the relevant concern with respect to evaluating resource use) (excerpt #48). Beyond this, they feel that the planning process itself is the source of polarization rather than a true conflict in the field (excerpt #49). As a possible response to some of these concerns, they would like to have some assurance that individuals who make planning decisions have first hand knowledge about the resource. Further they would like to see an attempt to create greater continuity in policy and management by lengthening the tenure of planners/decision makers within the National Forests (excerpt #50).

Four other issues were addressed in the interview. First, like many other jet boaters, they emphasized that the river exceeded the ability of novice jet boaters and the importance of the opportunity to learn how to run the Upper Salmon from boaters with experience specific to this river (excerpts #51-53). Additionally, due to the high level of difficulty, they held the belief that the river is self-limiting (excerpt #51). They were members of the Northwest River Runners and indicated that initially they joined for the opportunity to socialize with people having similar interests; especially appealing were the Spring clean up activities organized by the club. However, over time the club has become important as a means of protecting the rights and interests of jet boaters (excerpts #54-55). They also felt that the club played an important role in promoting an appropriate use ethic (excerpt #56). Finally, with respect to relations among jet boaters and rafters, these interview participants felt the assistance that jet boaters offer to rafters was an important and often overlooked issue. Type of assistance ranged from critical safety issues (retrieving runaway rafts or drowning victims) (excerpts #57-58) to provision of desirable conveniences (leaving ice with rafters) (excerpt #59). Some of these examples were not "hearsay" but came from their own experiences.

Doug and Alicia - Landowners, Club Members

Doug and Alicia have owned land along the Salmon River system since the mid-1980's. They bought their first jet boat in 1977 or 1978. Doug is the operator of the boat and while Alicia says she just "shoves it off," Doug describes her as the co-pilot (142-146). They had just returned from a jet boat trip on the upper Salmon a few days prior to the interview. They joined the Western Whitewater Association last year because they believe in what the Association is trying to do - "keep it open so people can go on the river" (696). Doug is also a rafter and has floated the Middle Fork, South Fork, Main Salmon and Selway.

Both Alicia and Doug have a long personal history on the river spanning several generations. In fact, Doug felt it was important to open the interview by explaining their history with the area. Alicia began the narrative of her history with the place by referring to her mother, one of 14 children in a family with a homestead on the South Fork of the Salmon. One of the children is buried on upper South Fork (excerpt #1). Alicia remembers stories her mother would tell about how Alicia's grandmother traded with and learned from the Indians (excerpt #2). As a child, Alicia spent summers visiting the Salmon River system (excerpt #1). When going to college she returned in the summers seeking opportunities to work in the backwoods with her uncles who were government trappers (excerpt #3). Doug spent much of his childhood along the Salmon River system. He worked summers for one of the landowners from the time he was 9 years old. He cut hay, helped the "dudes" with their Salmon, cut logs to build a cabin, talked to Forest Service lookouts on the telephone lines, and listened to radio stations out of Boise at night (excerpts #4-5). As a consequence of these early experiences, both Doug and Alicia long held a long term goal of maintaining a connection to the Salmon River system (excerpts #6-8).

For Doug and Alicia, it is this long personal and family history with the area that creates the unique and special meaning the Salmon River system has for them. As Alicia noted "I guess that's what's special about the Salmon to us, [w]e feel connected" (excerpt #9). Their responses throughout the interview suggested this connection Alicia referred to was one that linked a number of dimensions including the past (going back there Alicia can hear her mother "talking about when the Indians would come" [excerpt #10]), the land (as Doug stated "it means to survive and to use common sense and to be able to enjoy it" [excerpt #11]), and the future (a sense of history and connectedness they can pass on to their children [excerpts #6, 11]).

Doug indicated that the original motivation for getting a jet boat was for the challenge rivers provided. Boating on lakes was getting boring, rivers offered an opportunity for continual challenge because they are constantly changing (excerpt #12). Alicia's response suggested a slightly different view, though acknowledging the challenge, she saw the acquisition of a jet as a means of survival - she wanted to access the river and found other drivers' decisions about when and how to be less than prudent (excerpt #13). Both still recognize the challenge and danger of jet boating on rivers as a distinctive dimension of the experience, having themselves once lost power in the river (excerpt #11) and having blown out a windshield in Chittam as recently as they last trip (excerpt #14). In fact, they note that some people find the challenge to be too intimidating (excerpt #15). However, while the experience of jet boating itself remains prominent in their minds, other dimensions of the experience seem to have become more important. These other dimension include the pristine, peaceful, and quiet setting (excerpt #16); opportunities to view scenery and wildlife (excerpt #17), and opportunities to learn more about the human history of the area (excerpt #18). As a consequence, the jet boat is valued as a means of accessing these other dimensions of the experience. And as with other local jet boaters, Doug and Alicia were concerned about protecting this as a means of accessing the area in a way that fit into their schedules. For example, as noted previously in excerpt #11, their oldest daughter's profession leaves little time for visiting, and the jet boat gives her the opportunity to visit the area with the family even if it is just for the span of a day. The flexibility to take advantage of opportunities when river conditions are suitable and the ability to access the river over short time spans in a world that increasingly has a more limited amount of available free time are also important issues related to jet boat access (excerpts #19-20). Also, jet boats are valued as a form of access because they provide the opportunity for the elderly to continue to visit the area. As with other local jet boaters, this was not a hypothetical concern, but something Doug and Alicia could relate to experiences with their own parents (excerpt #21).

Doug and Alicia's experience with the area predated its wilderness designation, and Doug indicated that, in terms of the meaning of the place, the designation did not change anything. The meaning has always come from the river itself. The Salmon is "a river that's got a reputation," a "challenging river." And even though there's a highway at Riggins and none between Corn Creek and Vinegar Creek, in Doug's view "you feel just as part of it at Riggins as you do at Corn Creek" (excerpt #22). Further, as the discussion of their personal history suggests, the area is not an uninhabited place where humans are visitors who do not remain, but a place with an evident and knowable human history (excerpts #18) and sense of community (excerpt #1, 5); a place that feels like home to them (excerpts #10, 11).

While wilderness designation was not associated with any special positive meanings, the change in management philosophy that seemed to accompany wilderness designation was viewed negatively. The Forest Service was no longer maintaining trails as they had in the past, and as Doug and Alicia would have expected in an area with a family orientation. Instead the Forest Service was seen as trying to force people to become "survivalists" and "Rambos." In Doug and Alicia's view, this was not consistent with the history of the area, with the intention of the designers, or with a concern for safety for family oriented use. In their view, even when the signs had been there, when the trails had been well marked, and even telephone lines had been present, the area still had been primitive. As a consequence, they could not see the justification for not maintaining the trails (excerpt #23). In a similar vein, they did not see the justification for the Forest Service's "destruction" of the cabins that were already there, especially when such areas could provide safety in case of emergencies. They saw this as an attempt by the Forest Service to keep people out, something not consistent with the original management philosophy of the '50's in which the trails and cabins were built up (excerpts #24-25).

Doug and Alicia's use ethic strongly emphasizes facilitating use opportunities. In their view, the original intention was to preserve an area without roads, but to encourage use (excerpt #26). Yet they felt the current Forest Service management actions (not maintaining trails or signs, destroying cabins) are akin to "locking it up." For Doug and Alicia, the cabins were shelters that facilitated use. They were not all that different from caves. They felt the Forest Service should be focused on facilitating opportunities for family access, not limiting use only to "Rambos." As a consequence they did not fathom the rationale for destroying these features (excerpts #27-30). The current management policies and the failure to focus on facilitating access raised questions in Doug's mind about whether the Forest Service's current management policies reflect an appropriate concept of public ownership of federal lands (excerpt #31).

In emphasizing use, Doug and Alicia also recognized the need for different types of users to share the river. They have encountered conflicts with other types of users (excerpt #32) and do support the establishment and communication of appropriate river etiquette (excerpt #33). However, they also encourage management that is tempered with a realistic view - there will always be bad individuals in any user group, that is inescapable. The management concern should be focused on whether the good outweighs the bad. In Doug's view it currently does, 90% of the current users are good - respectful of others (excerpt #34). Additionally, like a number of the other local jet boaters, Doug feels that part of the conflict between floaters and jet boaters is caused by the outfitters (and the Forest Service) who mislead nonlocal clientele with regard to the true nature of the Salmon River experience (i.e. advertise the experience as a wilderness one without motorized use) (excerpt #35).

Additional responses concerning management issues indicate that Doug, like a number of other jet boaters, feels that there is no real evidence of abuse; that the river is in as good a condition now as it was when he first went there in the 1950's (excerpt #36). He feels that regulations concerning use and access are already in effect and are working. And while he supports efforts to find out if there are problems (at least with respect to the ability to access the area), he feels the guiding philosophy should be, "if it's not broken, let's not fix it" (excerpt #37). Additionally, like some of the other jet boaters, he questions whether decision makers in the Forest Service spend enough time on the river to actually know the resource they are managing (excerpt #38). He further questions whether decisions are being made with full consideration of their consequences (excerpts #39-40).

Jack, Laura, and 5 Friends - Operators/Passengers, Club Members/Unaffiliated

This interview was originally set up with Jack and his wife Laura. Upon arrival the interviewer found that Jack had invited several friends to participate. These friends included two married couples (Ken and Sally, Matt and Samantha) and an individual (Sean). The husbands all indicated they were operators while the wives indicated they were passengers. Sean also described himself as a passenger. Jack and Laura were members of the Western Whitewater Association while the remaining interview participants were unaffiliated. The group had considerable jet boating experience. Matt and Samantha had the longest history, Samantha's father had owned a jet boat in the '60's. Sally indicated that they had jet boated for about 25 years. Jack indicated that he had owned a jet boat for 12 years. They had all jet boated the upper Salmon during the past year. In addition to jet boating the Salmon, the group indicated other rivers they had jet boated included the Snake and the Clearwater. Most in the group also had experience rafting. For example Sean used to work for an outfitter and estimated he had floated the main Salmon perhaps 18 times. Overall they described themselves as outdoor enthusiasts and Jack estimated that they spend 90-95% of their spare time activities in the woods or on rivers (813).

Two of the three family groups got involved in jet boating on rivers as an extension of their interest in boating as a recreational activity. Jack was attracted to the "adventure" of river jet boating compared to lake boating (excerpt #1) while Ken fell in love with river jet boating on his first trip with an outfitter and saved for 8 years to get his own jet boat (excerpt #2). Matt on the other hand originally got his jet boat to start an outfitting business which he ran on the Salmon and Snake for 11 years (excerpt #3). As with other jet boaters interviewed, there is a great deal of respect for the challenge, danger, and skill involved in the activity. Jet boats are viewed as more technically demanding than rafts with less margin for error (excerpt #4) and were described as something that requires a degree of nerve to operate that not everyone has (excerpts #5-6). The fact that conditions are constantly changing was mentioned as an important dimension of the experience (excerpt #7). Plus there is a "mystique" associated with being in a remote and isolated place with a "danger factor" that at times even causes discomfort (excerpt #8). In addition to the experience of boating itself, though, a variety of types of experiences are sought ranging from opportunities to fish and horn hunt; to view bighorn sheep, bears, and other wildlife; to visit old homesteads; to picnic; and to camp (excerpts #9-11). And often these visits are undertaken as family activities (excerpt #12). Finally, one of the comments suggests that the Snake and Salmon are not viewed so much as alternatives, but as a complementary system, with, for example, the Snake offering river boating opportunities when the Salmon is inaccessible due to flow levels (excerpt #13).

When asked if the Salmon River had any unique or distinctive characteristics, this group was readily able to describe distinctive tangible, physical features. For example in comparison to the Snake the water is "not as big," there are more trees, it is not as hot, and there is more game (excerpt #14). And in comparison to other areas in general, because of the difficulty in accessing the area there are fewer people on the Salmon, which increases the possibility of being able to camp without being surrounded by others (excerpt #15). However, at least for Jack, it is hard to say, the Salmon is better than, say the Snake. For him it is like comparing night and day - there is a best aspect of each of them, one is not better than the other (excerpt #16). This seems consistent with Matt's comment characterizing the two rivers as complementary (excerpt #13). At the same time though, there is a strong bond to the Salmon itself that is tied to something beyond its tangible, physical characteristics. Jack notes that, in the west at least, there is a "mystique" about the "River of No Return" that has special meaning (excerpt #17). Sally describes it as "comfortable, [l]ike home" because of "the feeling" of the place, while her husband Ken indicated "there's something magical about the Salmon River and I can't put it in words other than that ... just -- something sucked me in to loving it" (excerpts #17-18). As a consequence jet boating has been of value to Ken in part because it has "opened" the area up to him and let [him] use it more that way" (excerpt #19).

Comments early in the interview by the group suggested a set of values for the area that overlapped with values commonly associated with formal designation of an area as wilderness. Specifically, the development of facilities was seen as not consistent with the character of the area. In fact, the group referred to an area on the Snake that had been "developed" and indicated that they felt this development had diminished the area's appeal. As Jack noted, "if you go after all those modern conveniences, you don't go to the Frank Church Wilderness ... you go to Las Vegas. And so be it. I mean, let's keep the two segregated" (excerpt #20). Further, they expressed opposition to additional road development in the area (excerpt #21). However, when asked if wilderness designation for the area carried any special meaning, the group responded no. In their view, the physical qualities of the area determine its character regardless of the political designation (excerpts #22-23). In fact, in this group's, view wilderness designation carried some negative implications. They saw it as a means of restricting access, of locking it up. And while they were opposed to additional road construction, they did believe that opportunity to access the area via airplane, jet boats, and horses should be protected (excerpt #24).

Also relevant to the discussion of the Frank Church as wilderness is the group's awareness and interest in the human history of the area. As locals who grew up in the area, many in the group not only knew the history, but actually knew some of the notable historical characters, and their parents knew even more (excerpts #25-26). And while they recognized that a little bit of that personal knowledge was going to be lost over the generations, it was something that they sought to pass on to their children through experiences on the river and books about life on the river (excerpts #26-27). In addition to a keen awareness on the river's human past, they were keenly aware of the continued human presence on the river - both in terms of the river's current residents and outfitters who continue to make a living on the river (excerpts #28-29).

As excerpt #24 indicates, one of the most predominant themes underlying these interview participant's use ethic is the concept of shared use. As Ken stated "we have this wilderness and everybody is supposed to be able to use it." However, in advocating "everybody" should be able to use it, they are referring to "types of users" rather than to unlimited use (they value the fact that the upper Salmon River is an area with lower use levels [excerpt #15] and are concerned about the possibility of overuse by both floaters and jet boaters [excerpts #30-31]). However, with respect to the concept of shared use, there are currently two major concerns. The first is centered around the issue of protecting jet boat access and the second is centered around equity in distribution among different types of users. First with regard to the issue of protecting access, these interview participants expressed concern that there is a movement underway to eliminate jet boat use altogether (excerpt #32). They do recognize that floating has increased in popularity recently as an "in thing to do" and understand that hearing a jet boat while floating on a pristine river may detract from that experience (excerpt #33). But they feel these things alone are not a sufficient justification for eliminating jet boat use. Further they feel that other factors underlying the move to eliminate jet boats are based on misconceptions about jet boaters as individuals or the impact of jet boats on the environment (excerpt #34). In response to these issues they raise a number of counter points. First, they point out that rafting is not as quiet an activity as it is sometimes touted to be (excerpt #35). Second, they point out that jet boating as a recreational activity on the river predates the more recent emergence of floating (excerpt #36) and that problems between user groups is a relatively recent phenomenon (excerpt #37) driven in part by management controversies on the Snake that have made attitudes more contentious (excerpt #38). Further, Matt and Samantha, at least, note that they chose to live where they do because of the recreation opportunities - jet boating in particular. They feel it is unfair for decisions about the opportunity to jet boat to be controlled by nonlocals with larger incomes who want to participate in the trendy activity of rafting (excerpt #39). In particular, they would like to see management reflect a concern for protecting opportunities for local users who have less flexibility in determining their time off, an issue made even more critical by recent changes in the management of the Snake with respect to jet boat use (excerpts #40-41).

A second major concern surrounding the issue of shared use regards equity in the distribution of use. Although somewhat divided in terms of whether the current permitting system is too restrictive on jet boats, they are all in agreement that there is very little jet boat use in the summer and that it has not reached its "holding capacity" (excerpts #42-45). In contrast they feel that float boat use has, perhaps, reached its capacity. Especially with outfitters now sometimes allowing groups to float the river in individual "duckies," jet boaters interviewed have the impression that, at times, they are sitting along a freeway (excerpts #46-49).

In addition to concerns related to access and equity, some responses suggested two additional issues for which these interview participants perceived a conflict between their underlying values and those reflected in management actions. The first seems to stem from their interest in, and focus on, the sociocultural history of the area (see excerpts #25-27). They could not understand why the Forest Service burned cabins. To Ken, that was "crazy," it was "like taking historical documents and burning them" (excerpt #50). The second was a concern for what was perceived to be an increasing police-state mentality in management in which they felt that they were being treated like criminals (excerpts #51-52). Combined with the perception that current management direction was moving toward "locking out" users (see excerpt #24) this led Jack to question whether Forest Service management still reflected the vision that led to the creation of this agency in the first place; specifically that it was created to serve the public interest through caring for the land for all of us. Instead, Jack's perception was that "they're segregating groups" and that "it almost is like they consider this property theirs" (excerpt #53).

A final theme related to use ethic and management deals with the planning and decision making process. Similar to the a concern expressed in the previous excerpt, they were concerned about the extent to which the Forest Service had become a bureaucracy intent on sustaining itself rather than caring for the land and serving the public interest. For example, a major concern was the proposed fee program. This group could not understand the rationale for the program and questioned what the real purpose was. One opinion was that it was nothing more than another way of creating work for themselves (excerpt #54). Also linked to the issues referred to above and in excerpt #53, this group expressed a concern about how adequately current planning processes addressed the interests of the whole public. With respect to our study they were interested in whether the Forest Service was "mandated" to do it versus whether they wanted the input (excerpt #55). While they indicated a willingness to adhere to decisions made in the best interests of management of the resource, they felt frustration with respect to recent decisions for which they neither understood the rationale nor felt that they had the opportunity to have input into the process (excerpt #56). Additionally there was the feeling that, rather than treating all users equitably, the Forest Service was showing favoritism to outfitters for monetary reasons. This led to the perception that those who spoke the loudest had the most influence (excerpt #57). In fact, this reasoning is what led Jack and Laura to maintain membership in the Western Whitewater Association (excerpts #62).

Also with regard to an underlying use ethic, the group did express a concern about stewardship for the resource in terms of litter. And their perception was that nonlocal rafters on outfitted trips thought nothing of flipping cigarettes or litter down (excerpt #58). They did differ from other interview participants with respect to perceptions of the amount of litter currently present, although there was disagreement within their group on this issue. At the end of the discussion Ken and Sean indicated they did not feel litter was a problem within the wilderness and no one in the group contested that opinion which suggests the concern for litter might have been associated with other recreation areas.

On a final note with regard to management, like many other jet boaters this group felt that the river was self-limiting due to its difficulty and the danger involved (excerpts #59-60). Specifically there was a rapid above Mackay Bar that the group felt was a turn around point for many jet boaters. However, unlike some other groups who raised this issue, they did feel that there might come a time when regulations to restrict numbers of jet boaters will be necessary, although currently the "self regulating" character of the river limited jet boat use to an acceptably low level (excerpt #61).

With respect club membership, only two of the participants belonged to a club, and as mentioned previously their primary motivation was for the political activities in protecting access to the area although they recognized other dimensions to the organization (excerpts #62-63). With regard to the learning process, they indicated the importance of the opportunity to learn from others. Further they expressed the opinion that having an experienced person on the boat rather than following another boater was a more effective way to learn (#64). Finally, unlike some other jet boaters they felt that once someone had learned to read water, they would be able to transfer than knowledge to other rivers (excerpt #65).

Jason and Cathy - Operator/Passenger, Unaffiliated

Cathy had been jet boating with Jason for about 9 years while Jason had been power boating on the Salmon for about 35 years (since he was 12). Jason primarily boats on the Salmon and the Snake, although he also had a little bit of experience on the Clearwater and Payette. Jason estimated he put about 200 hours a year on his boat, which he thought translated to using it about two weekends every month. Cathy is primarily a passenger, but has operated the boat on the Snake and the Salmon below Riggins. Due to frustration with the management of the Snake and Salmon (discussed later) Jason sold his jet boat the previous year. However they did jet boat on the Salmon the previous summer and camped on California Creek for 9 days on a friend's jet boat.

Of the two, Jason seemed to have the strongest tie to the river. He was raised a stone's throw from the river. The original motivation for getting into power boating was fishing. His father loved to fish but couldn't swim and "didn't want anything much to do with the boat" so his father had someone teach Jason how to run a boat so they could go fishing on the river (excerpt #1). As an adult, Jason has shared that knowledge and taught a number of local boaters how to run the river (excerpt #2). For 20 years now Jason has been camping on the upper Salmon at least one or two weeks a year (excerpt #3). He and Cathy even had a jet boat wedding on the river (excerpt #4).

For Jason, this long association has led to a strong bond to the place - he views it as home (excerpts #5-6). Cathy valued the place as an opportunity to have the freedom to engage in activities she enjoys (excerpt #7). In terms of other distinctive characteristics of the Salmon River, Jason notes the cleanliness of the water compared to the Snake, which is dirtier and has an odor due to being held up in reservoirs (excerpt #8). Another distinction between the Snake River and the Salmon is that the Snake has more volume, the Salmon more rocks (excerpt #9). These differences have implications for boat design - the perfect boat on the Salmon is not the perfect boat on the Snake (excerpt #10). Finally with regard to distinctive characteristics of the Salmon River, Ludwig Falls is described as a significant boundary for jet boaters. Not only is it a particularly difficult rapid, but above Ludwig, the remoteness and lack of use makes the experience significantly more perilous (excerpt #11). As a final note with regard to distinctive features of the Salmon, Jason's comments suggest that he views the Salmon and Snake as complementary, part of a regional system for river users, rather than as alternative destinations (excerpt #12).

As excerpt #11 suggests, jet boating on the Salmon has generated a high level of respect for the river. Jason describes it as a river that can "stomp on you fast" (excerpt #13) and he still, at times, gets outs and scouts rapids he has run for 20 years because the river is constantly changing as rocks shift in rapids from year to year (excerpt #14). And even within a year Jason describes the Salmon as being two different rivers distinguished by different levels in water flow (excerpt #14). These characteristics add a dimension of challenge and thrill to the experience that may at times demand quick action on the part of passengers as well as the operators (excerpts #16-17). However, the thrill and challenge of the experience were more significant for Jason when he was younger; now other dimensions of the experience have increased in importance (Jason, #18).

As with other jet boaters, Jason and Cathy also view jet boats as a means of access to gain the other types of experiences they are seeking (excerpt #19). And, as a means of access, a jet boat is significant in part because it provides opportunities to engage the river in ways that other means of access do not allow (excerpt #20). However, the jet boat is also significant as a means of access because it provides opportunities for access by those with physical limitations due to age or disabilities. As with some of the other jet boaters interviewed, this is not just a hypothetical issue, the issue is directly relevant to Jason and Cathy's own life experiences (excerpts #21-22). The issue of access is also a significant dimension of the experience for Jason and Cathy as local residents. For them, the river is a local resource and they valued opportunities to be able to go jet boating on the spur of the moment. However, the permit system requires plans to be made months in advance and is seen as a major impediment to the way they had used the river all their lives. Further, given the variability in river conditions, Jason and Cathy felt such that situation did not make sense - on the day they were forced to choose months in advance by the current permitting system, jet boaters could find that the river was too full of debris to be safe (excerpts #23-25).

With respect to the nature of other dimensions of the experience, Cathy valued the opportunity to fish in a place without many people, the unique view that can only be seen from a boat, and the thrill of the rapids. At the same time she had difficulty isolating or singling out specific features of the experience. For her "the whole thing is just remarkable. The river itself is quite remarkable." And when asked to be more specific she noted "[laughter] I don't know. What makes the ocean so great? I don't know" (excerpt #26). Jason was attracted to jet boating for the opportunity it provides to participate in fishing and camping (excerpt #27). He describes it as a family activity. And while there has in the past been a segment of jet boaters who encouraged him to get into racing, Jason was not interested, looking instead for an opportunity to "go up there slow and look" (excerpt #28). He particularly enjoys opportunities to watch and photograph bighorn sheep "especially in November when they start banging heads" (excerpt #29). While these dimensions of the experience are tied to the physical features of the setting, Cathy and Jason also both valued intangible dimensions related to freedom of opportunity and the opportunity to relax and escape work related stress (excerpts #7, #30, #31). In part, it was the loss of these latter opportunities (which Jason attributed to the increase in regulations) that led him to sell his jet boat the previous year.

When asked whether the fact that the Salmon runs through wilderness carried any special meaning, Cathy responded no, that she encountered all types of users up there and did not think of it as wilderness (excerpt #32). Jason initially responded no to the same question (excerpt #33). However, in discussing the issue he did point out he valued the opportunity to boat a river with no road beside it (excerpt #34) and felt that it was important to protect an area that is not populated (excerpt #35). Also, as with many of the other float boaters Jason was keenly aware both of the human history in the area and the continued presence of humans living along the river corridor (excerpt #36-38).

Jason and Cathy's use ethic emphasizes facilitating use (excerpt #39). They do recognize the growth in the number of floaters in recent years (excerpt #40) and even though early comments suggested they valued the opportunity to boat in an area without many people around (excerpt #26), Jason felt there was still plenty of room on the river for both user types (excerpt #41). Rather than numbers, they were more concerned about the nature of the interactions between users. They described a time when interactions between floaters and jet boaters were positive (excerpt #42). Memories of times when there was a sense of cooperation among the community of river users were held in high regard (excerpt #43). However, the increasing rudeness and the attitude of floaters is making it harder Jason and Cathy to enjoy the rivers (excerpts #44-45). While most of the concern was associated with floaters, jet boaters who did not follow appropriate standards of etiquette on the river were also viewed with irritation (excerpt #46). The increase in rudeness was attributed primarily to outfitted groups rather than private floaters (excerpt #47-48). Cathy felt in part that this was because floaters on outfitted trips were being sold on the quietness of the setting and that unexpected encounters with jet boats might ruin that experience in their eyes (excerpt #48). Jason attributed it to selfish motives - wanting the rivers to themselves. In fact he attributed much of the problem to outfitters who were trying to increase their opportunities to profit (excerpt #49-50). But again, as excerpts #43, 46, and 51 indicate, it is the nature of the interaction among river users that seems most significant rather than distinctions such as commercial/noncommercial or the floater/jet boater.

In spite of an increasing concern for how interactions among visitors are affecting the quality of experiences, Jason views the Forest Service's efforts to develop regulations and manage use in a highly negative light. He cynically views regulations and current management actions (e.g., worrying about fire pans) as simply attempts to control people in order to create jobs so the agency can survive now that timber harvesting has declined (excerpts #51-54). An important question is how Jason arrived at such a cynical view. Comments addressed in the preceding paragraph would suggest, it is not due to lack of concern about issues related to visitor use. Nor is it lack of concern about the resource, as previous excerpts (#5-6) indicate he views the Salmon as his home. And excerpts #55 and 56 reflect a concern for stewardship of the resource and a sense of pride in terms of his ability to leave no trace when camping. He also believes that jet boater users are more able to do so compared to floaters. Instead of lack of interest, responses throughout the interview suggest three reasons why Jason has such a cynical view of Forest Service management: (1) his understanding of what the concept of management should entail; (2) what he views as the apparent lack rationale for many of the management actions; and (3) lack of a positive relationship with the Forest Service as an agency.

With regard to the first issue, Jason and Cathy's comments throughout the interview suggest that they associate management with actions to care for the land (cleaning up trash) or to facilitate use (maintaining trails) (e.g., excerpts #39, 54). Actions to regulate or restrict behavior seem to be viewed as outside the realm of what is appropriate for the Forest Service.

With regard to the second issue, apparent lack of a rational basis for management actions, two examples will be used to illustrate views Jason expressed in the interview. The first issue is related to the removal of toilet facilities in the Wilderness. His impression was that the "pack it out" policy is an unrealistic expectation (especially in light of the outfitted float trips). His observations on the river seem to confirm this. Further he feels the policy is made all the more irrational in light of the fact that it was implemented just as river use was dramatically increasing (excerpts #57-59). The second example involves his favorite animal in the region (see excerpt #29), big horn sheep. According to Jason, a few years ago the bighorn sheep population started to decline due to disease, researchers needed a warm carcass to run tests, and the agency would not approve the use of a helicopter to allow this (excerpt #60). Jason could not understand this decision when a valued resource was at stake. As these examples illustrate, Jason's cynicalness toward management actions do not reflect a disregard for the resource or simply narrow self interest, rather underlying them is a different perspective on the appropriateness and consequences of management actions taken to protect the resource.

The third cause of Jason's cynical attitude toward management is the overall absence of a positive relationship with the Forest Service. This is reflected in a number of responses through out the interview and seems to have several causes. The first cause stems from the perception that the planning/decision making process lacks legitimacy. Based on his experiences, Jason feels that the Forest Service is not truly seeking input in public meetings and that the decisions for how the area will be managed are decided before the public is approached (excerpt #61). Further, like some of the other jet boaters interviewed, he feels that Forest Service decision making is being driven by easterners who have never even seen the river, rather than local agency personnel whom he described as qualified (excerpt #62). On further reflection though, like some other jet boaters interviewed, he was increasingly pessimistic of the local Forest Service decision makers due to what he perceived as a rapid rate of turnover in Forest Service personnel. He feels newcomers start making management decisions before they have been in the area long enough to "to learn how the lay of land is" (excerpt #63).

A second factor inhibiting a constructive relationship between Jason and the Forest Service stems from personal experiences in which Jason feels the Forest Service, in one form or another, has not lived up to its word. Specifically, Jason related two stories to illustrate why he so mistrusts the agency; one related to a trail closure (excerpt #64) and the other related to his experience with fire pans (excerpt #65).

A third factor associated with the absence of a positive relationship with the Forest Service is related to the nature of interactions Jason has had with Forest Service personnel in the field. As suggested in excerpts #65 and 66, at times he feels as if Forest Service personnel act like cops and that he is being treated like a criminal. While it is tempting to view this simply as an intolerance for being regulated, a careful analysis suggests something deeper. For example with respect to the fire pan issue described in excerpt #65 - Jason made a sincere attempt to comply when he first learned of the regulation. And excerpt #67 illustrates a situation where he held a positive image of a game warden even though the warden was enforcing a regulation Jason found somewhat absurd. This may link back to or reflect his use ethic in which it was his perception of the underlying attitude and nature of the interaction that was the most significant factor in his perception of users. In other words, regulations, or at least their enforcement, may be deemed more acceptable simply by the virtue of a positive relationship with the agency.

Despite negative examples in the preceding discussion, there were some positive interactions with the Forest Service. He did mention that he had friends who worked for the Forest Service and earlier in life he had even fought fires for the Forest Service. Further, he did recount one action taken by the Forest Service to manage visitors that improved a problematic situation for which he was appreciative (excerpt #68). While it is tempting to view this as being satisfied only when his narrow self interests are served, the discussion presented above suggests there are deeper issues involved. Taken as a whole, the overall pattern of interactions are such that Jason is not left feeling he has a positive relationship with the agency. This in turn has led to suspicion about the agency's intentions, including a perception that agency is, in fact, a major source of the conflict (excerpt #69).

Although Jason is currently not a member of a jet boat organization, he had been at one time. He indicated he joined for two reasons. The first reason (so he could meet and come to know the jet boaters on the Snake) reflected what seems to be one of the major dimensions of his use ethic - positive relationships among users. The second reason was political, reflecting the belief that such an organization would be more effective in protecting the interests of jet boaters (excerpt #70).

Finally as noted earlier, Jason had helped many other jet boaters in the area learn to run the Salmon (excerpt #2). His method was to first have the novice boater ride with him as he instructs and then let them navigate the rapids with him in the boat. As a rule of thumb he had novice boaters ride with him 8 times on the river before he allowed them to solo (excerpt #71). Finally, he was of the opinion that experience on other rivers like the Snake did not mean a person would be able to run the Salmon (excerpt #72).

Daniel - Operator, Club Member

Daniel has been a member of the Northwest River Runners, an organization he indicates was originally created to fight against the elimination of power boating in Hell's Canyon, since it was created and has served on its board of directors. Daniel describes himself as being "addicted to the outdoors" (293) and someone who "fell in love with rivers" (231). He is an avid hunter, fisherman, a sometimes hunting/fishing guide, and he has rafted Hells Canyon and the Salmon River. While he "enjoyed rafting a lot", he likes jet boats even better (235), and much of his outdoor activity is centered around jet boating. He built his first jet boat in 1966/67 and first took a jet boat all the way from Lewiston to Corn Creek in 1972. Since that time, with the exception of two years, he has taken the boat from Riggins to Corn Creek at least once a year, sometimes 3 or 4 times. He also has jet boated in Alaska, on the Ganges River in India, and about 1400 miles on 3 river systems in South America. Despite this international experience, the Salmon is seen as special and unique due to its outstanding scenery and the challenge of boating it and getting back (excepts #1-3). In comparing the Salmon to the Snake, unlike some of the other jet boaters interviewed who maintained that the Salmon is more challenging than the Snake, Daniel indicated that at some water levels the big water and big rapids on the Snake intimidate some of the jet boaters who are comfortable on the Salmon. However, like all boaters interviewed, the Salmon was distinguished as being a more technical river (excerpt #4), which, as noted above, only a small number of jet boaters could do well at lower water levels above Ludwig.

Part of the attachment to the Salmon river also stems from the family history invested in jet boating on the river. Particularly significant was the role jet boating played in his father's ability to use and enjoy the river late in life (excerpt #5) and the opportunity that provided for him to share experiences with his father over that time. He also noted the jet boat he built for his father in 1972 is still used by the family today (excerpts #6-7).

As mentioned above, Daniel has enjoyed his rafting experiences, but enjoys jet boating even more. This in part is due to the greater challenge he perceives in jet boating (excerpt #8-9). However, in addition to the activity of jet boating, jet boats are valued for the access they provide to allow participation in other activities along rivers (excerpt #10-12). While elk hunting is one of the primary focuses, jet boats also provide access to the area for a variety of other experiences throughout the season including wildlife viewing, sightseeing, visiting historical sites, camping, and hiking (excerpt #13).

Although responses suggest the wilderness portion of the river is valued, this value seems more related to the physical location than any special meaning ascribed to wilderness designation (excerpt #14). And as with some of the other local users, responses suggest an understanding of the Salmon River region, not as a wilderness defined in terms of a place where humans are visitors who do not remain, but as a place with a well-known human history and continued human presence. Power boating is viewed as part of the history of the river (excerpt #15), one that plays a role not only in recreation, but in life on the river (excerpt #16). And the river is not a people-less place but a place with ranches and cabins and a place where guides make a living (excerpts #5, 17). In fact, it may be worth noting that, throughout the interview, Daniel referred to wilderness only once, when specifically asked by the interviewer (excerpt #14). Instead of focusing on the political designation of wilderness as a way of defining boundaries on the river, his responses suggest the physical characteristics were the basis for distinguishing boundaries (e.g., "above Ludwig" [excerpt #2] or the distinction between the Snake (big rapids) and the Salmon (a technical river) [excerpt #4]).

Daniel did refer to "responsible shared use" (1110) as an underlying use ethic that should guide management of the area. This ethic does entail a responsibility to the environment ("I think the number one priority is protect the resource" [530]). However, "the number two priority is to maximize the recreational experience for that resource" (530). Responsible sharing of the resource means being responsible for your actions and respecting other types of users regardless of how you feel about the activity itself (excerpt #18). While he readily recognizes the need for restrictions to protect the experience (excerpt #19), his concern is that management restrictions are being driven by those for whom motorized use is seen as encroachment (in contrast to his view in which it is part of the history of the river [excerpt #15]) and see its elimination as the "holy grail" (excepts #20, 21). He is particularly concerned that management adopt a regional view (jet boat use is permitted on only 3 of 34 federally managed rivers in the Pacific Northwest) (excerpt #22). With respect to the need for restrictions on jet boating at the current time, he feels the river could handle a little more use, and, like many other jet boaters feels that the river itself is self-limiting in the first place (excerpt #23). Overall, Daniel thinks that relations among river users are currently positive on the Salmon, although he has experienced problems with private groups (excerpt #24). Further, with respect to commercial trips, he feels that when outfitters prepare their clients by telling them they can expect to see jet boats, there is no problem. However, he feels that some commercial outfitters have an anti-jet boat attitude which they pass on to their clients and that this may be a critical factor causing conflict (excerpt #25).

Finally, Daniel was also asked about the learning process with respect to jet boating. As with other jet boaters he emphasized the importance of the opportunity to learn from more experienced jet boaters, preferably by riding along rather than boating behind (excerpt #26).

Roger - Landowner, Unaffiliated

Roger has been jet boating on the Salmon River since the mid 1970's and has jet boated a variety of rivers in the state (excerpt #1). Like a number of the other jet boaters, he has rafted the Salmon and other rivers. In fact he indicated that he spent more time floating on rivers than jet boating (excerpt #2). Rafting is a family activity and his daughter is even a guide on the Salmon (excerpt #3). However, one of his responses suggests that, like some other of the local users, age begins to become a consideration (excerpt #4).

With regard to frequency of jet boating, he estimates his "5 year average" on the Salmon River is 10-12 weekends a year. He owns a cabin on the upper Salmon and much of his use is centered around the cabin itself (excerpt #5). When asked about the jet boating experience, he responded that he mostly viewed it as a way to access his cabin, like going up your driveway (excerpt #6). In fact, he indicated that his original motivation for jet boating was to access the river rather than for the activity of jet boating itself (excerpt #7). However, he does recognize the thrill that accompanies the challenge of whitewater boating, especially when one is just starting out; a thrill he describes as similar to that from rafting though perhaps with less margin for error (excerpts #8-9). And while he has never had a serious accident, he clearly recognizes the skill level required and cases where inexperienced boaters have not been so fortunate (excerpt #10-12). Stemming from this, like other jet boaters, he saw the technical difficulty of the Salmon as one of its most distinguishing features. Compared to the other rivers in Idaho, the Salmon has always been "the next move up." And jet boaters from Oregon and Washington find that the shallow Salmon has "really sharp rocks" that are "not very forgiving, you hit one of those, you stay hit" (excerpts #13-14). And because of this degree of difficulty, like other jet boaters, Roger felt that the Salmon, at least above Ludwig, was self-limiting and that no restrictions were really necessary (excerpts #15-16). Finally, another distinctive feature was its outstanding scenery (excerpt #17).

Roger's response to the question about wilderness indicated that wilderness designation did not have special meaning for him. In part, like some of the other local jet boaters, this was because he knew of a lot of other areas in the region that were, in his mind, similar, but not declared wilderness (excerpt #18). Further, having first floated the area in 1960 (excerpt #2) and owned property there for 20 years, to him the area feels like home (excerpt #19) rather than wilderness. For him, the river is a community with residents and commercial operators who make a living up there (excerpts #20-21). It is a place with abandoned roads, Model T's, "cats" and stories from a long history of settlement (excerpts #22-25).

With respect to use ethic, Roger's responses do suggest that he believes it is important for different types of users to share the river. And his impression is interactions between users have improved over the years. In part this is due to the change in the type of users and in part because of efforts by the Forest Service to promote courteous behavior between the different river users (excerpts #26-27). Further he recognizes the need for the Forest Service to step in and set limits to control the use level both with respect to jet boaters and floaters (excerpts #28-29). However, he did have concerns about the way the Forest Service approached the task. For some issues related to jet boaters, the Forest Service's approach did not seem to have any rationale and possibly was in violation of the law (excerpt #30). Further he felt the Forest Service had no basis for the use numbers in the EIS, that they did not have enough presence on the river to really understand use patterns, and that some of the "crazy" efforts to count use reflected a bureaucracy that did not really understand the nature of its resource (excerpts #31-32). Further, like some of the other locals he was concerned about equity in the distribution of permits, that it favored commercial outfitters who served a national clientele, thereby short changing the locals whose taxes actually pay for infrastructure that support the activity (excerpt #33). Similarly he had concerns about the new proposed fee program as it relates to land owners (excerpt #34). Related to this issue Roger indicated that he had been a member of a jet boat organization in the early 1980's and had joined to help protect the rights of jet boaters to access the Snake River. They thought that they had that issue resolved and he dropped out of the organization when he felt its focus changed to social drinking, losing its family appeal (excerpt #35).

Finally, with respect to the issue of the learning process, Roger was self taught, although he recognized the difficulty and discomfort of that approach (excerpt #10). He has taught others to jet boat and emphasizes the importance of teaching while riding with an experienced operator (excerpts #36-37).

John, Amy, and Derrick - Operators, Passenger, Unaffiliated

This interview was with a husband and wife (John and Amy) and John's father, Derrick. Derrick first power boated on the main Salmon River out of the Shepp ranch in 1958. John and Amy have been jet boating since the late '70's and John first operated a jet boat on the Salmon River in the early 1980's. Unlike some of the other jet boaters, this group indicated that they were not rafters, describing it as "a different option that we don't opt for" (75). Both Derrick and John are operators while Amy is solely a passenger. In addition to the Salmon, they had jet boated on the Snake, Payette, Owhyee, and Boise rivers. John has also been on the Rogue River in Oregon and the Athabascus River in Canada. The last time they had boated the Salmon was two years ago, although on different trips. Derrick took a fishing trip and found a poor run of steelhead while John and Amy had taken the family up in July.

Derrick's use of the area is centered around fishing (excerpts #1-2). The opportunity to fish in "that kind of country," in an area that's away from a "whole bunch of boats," on challenging whitewater that not everyone wants to do are aspects that attract Derrick to the Salmon River (excerpt #2). However, despite these other dimensions of the experience, a bad steelhead run can cause Derrick to get "out of the habit of doing it" (excerpt #3). In contrast, Amy's and John's responses reflect more of an emphasis on family related activities. In fact, experiences with family on the Snake and Salmon River appear to be valued memories from John's past (he originally started jet boating with his Dad and remembers killing his first deer with his uncle during a jet boat trip on the Snake [excerpts #16-17]) and his responses suggest the desire to pass on these types of experiences to his children (excerpt #6). While John and Amy recognize that the skill and challenge of boating is a dimension of the experience (excerpts #7-8), their responses suggest that the scenery, wildlife, and history of the area are more important dimensions of the experience (excerpts #9-12). This family centered orientation leads to concerns about preserving opportunities to access the area. Concerns range from protecting access for the elderly (excerpt #13) to protecting the flexibility and spontaneity of being able to visit the area on short notice or to be able to get there when the fishing is good, something that cannot be predicted in advance (excerpts #14-15). As with some of the other local jet boaters, the concern for protecting access for the elderly is not merely a hypothetical one, but is thought of in terms of Amy's mom and dad.

With respect to unique aspects of the Salmon, John and Amy recognize the scenery and wildlife as particularly distinctive, along with a gestalt-like appreciation for the overall setting and experience, "you can't beat it, I mean there's no other place to be" (excerpt #18). However, their responses also express an emotional attachment associated with significant experiences rooted in the place - John proposed to Amy during a jet boat trip on the river, and in thinking about his feelings for the place he "relate[s] it to that" (excerpt #19). And as noted earlier for John, childhood experiences on the river seem to be valued memories. Derrick describes the area as unique, though also points out there is no place else to go (possibly in reference to the limited opportunities for jet boating elsewhere) (excerpt #19). John and Amy's responses also indicate that they value the remote, difficult to access setting that has remained one of those places "that's the way it's always been" (excerpts #19-20). However, despite this appreciation for these characteristics, their responses indicate that they do not relate to the area as wilderness in the "politically designated" sense of the concept. John has never really thought about it and Derrick is quick to point out the road access (excerpt #19). Further, like a number of the other local jet boat users, unlike a wilderness which is a place where people are visitors who do not remain, the Salmon is seen as a river system with a sense of community. It has recognizable residents who use the river as a means of transportation and also has other ongoing human activities and experiences. As John said there is "a ton of stuff that happens up there" (excerpts #22-23).

Derrick noted the high number of floaters on the river (excerpt #24). However, while he recognized that when different users are competing for territory conflict can occur, he felt that the river could handle quite a bit of use (excerpt #25). Additional discussions of river users focused on sharing the river and respecting others (excerpt #26). Responses indicated that they were supportive of establishing rules to communicate appropriate standards for behavior (excerpt #27). However, in general they felt that currently interactions between users were positive (excerpt #28). Derrick did recognize that some floaters did not like to hear any motor noise, but he pointed out that that type of experience was available on other rivers in the region (e.g., the Middle Fork) (excerpt #29). Overall, while supportive of the need to manage the river to keep it from going "crazy," a bigger concern was that it would become so restricted that future generations would not have an opportunity to enjoy it (excerpt #30). Associated with this shared use ethic was a concern for stewardship of the area. Primarily this focused on river users keeping the area clean, which they felt current users were successfully doing (excerpts #31-#32). A comment by John suggests a concern for the resource itself (fish) though the comment suggested the concern focuses on the loss of a recreational opportunity rather than of the fish themselves (excerpt #33).

Comments did briefly touch on views about the planning/decision making process. Their feeling was the best organized, most vocal organizations were more likely to get attention in the planning process (excerpt #34). And like some of the other jet boaters, comments indicate that they perceived a lack of presence of the Forest Service on the river (excerpt #35). Although, unlike some of the other jet boaters, this comment was not elaborated on or linked explicitly to concerns about the planning process.

Finally, the interview also touched on the learning process. John and Derrick advocated both learning while riding with someone and learning through following another boat through rapids. Further, John suggested that the opportunity to learn through these types of processes was a value of organized clubs like the Western Whitewater Association (excerpts #36-37). They indicated that opportunities to boat on other rivers would help develop water reading skills that could be applied on the Salmon, but John's comment also implies the need to have knowledge specific to the river being used (where the rocks are laying) (excerpts #38-39).

Tom and Sarah - Landowners, Club Members

The interview was conducted with Tom and his wife Sarah, although the interview focused primarily on Tom's experiences. Jet boating was not what originally brought Tom to the area. He had been a professional hunter/outfitter in the region prior to taking up jet boating (excerpt #1), doing that for 30 years. He began jet boating in 1968, in part due to a life-long interest in boating (excerpt #2). Tom is currently in a transition period, having reduced his involvement in jet boating (excerpt #3), although he still jet boats, most recently on a fishing trip just a few weeks before the interview (excerpt #4). They are also property owners (excerpt #3). Tom has experience jet boating in other places as well including the Snake, Clearwater, Rogue Rivers, and in Alaska (excerpt #5).

For Tom, most of the discussion of the jet boating experience itself reflected his life-long interest in boats and focused on the skill and experience jet boating on the Salmon demanded. Like some of the other jet boaters he compared the skill necessary to jet boat to flying a plane, suggesting that jet boating was, in fact, a bit more challenging (excerpt #6). Also, as with some of the other jet boaters interviewed, he viewed jet boating as more challenging than float boats (excerpt #7). Skills required included a natural ability, the ability to read water, an intimate familiarity with the specific stretches of river being run, and a realization that the river is constantly changing eliminating any possibility for complacence even with experience (excerpts #8-13). The difficulty and skill required leads to a respect not only for the river (excerpt #14), but among the community of river users, also those who have the ability to do so (excerpt #15). Sarah spoke briefly of the experience from the passenger's perspective. She enjoyed the opportunity to view the scenery and to socialize with friends, but recognized the concentration required to operate the boat and was glad not to have to take that stressful responsibility (excerpt #16). However, at times, passengers do experience the thrill and possible danger associated with jet boating (excerpt #17). Tom also placed greater emphasis on the connection between the jet boat operator and the jet boat than some of the other respondents. The operator becomes part of the boat (excerpt #18) and differences between boats is readily apparent (excerpt #19-20). In fact the appropriate boat differs by river (excerpt #21). Finally, while the focus of the interview with respect to experience seemed to be on the activity of jet boating, some responses did indicate an appreciation for the scenery and outdoors (excerpt #16, 22, 23).

Tom did regard the Salmon River was regarded as a unique and special place. This characterization of the river as special seemed to be tied to the tangible and/or physical character of the area, including the beauty and remoteness of the area. Those features that made it such a challenging jet boating river and the stature this imparted to those able to run the river skillfully were especially valued (excerpts #24-27).

Tom indicated in excerpts #24 and 25 that he valued the remoteness of the area. When asked specifically about the wilderness designation he indicated he was pleased the area was being protected as wilderness. However, he also remembered when it was called a primitive area, not a wilderness and indicated that calling it a wilderness did not change it. The wildness came from the character of the area, not the label "wilderness" (excerpt #28). Like many of the other jet boaters, he also recognized that the area had been (and still is currently) inhabited (excerpt #29). And like many other local jet boaters he recognized a sense of community among the community of river users (excerpts # 15 and #30).

Although Tom did not literally use the term "responsible shared use," the use ethic apparent in his interview shared similar themes. He recognized the need to restrict use to protect both the condition of the resource and the visitor experience. However, like some of the other jet boaters Tom felt that the condition of the resource, especially with respect to trash, had improved over the last 30 years (excerpt #31). He attributed this in part to the education by the Forest Service, especially the role of one of the river rangers who was able to instill a more rigorous ethic with respect to trash while at the same time retaining a good relationship with, and the respect of, the community of river users (excerpt #32). In fact Tom felt that this type of stewardship ethic among jet boaters had evolved to the point that anyone who would leave trash now would be black balled by the community of river users (excerpt #33). Tom was generally pleased with Forest Service management of the area, though given the improving resource condition with respect to presence of trash and the overall good condition of the river, he felt the Forest Service was on the verge of being too restrictive if they were considering a dramatic reduction in river users (excerpts #31, 34). Consistent with the concept of responsible shared use, with respect to the issue of encounters among visitors, he noted a responsibility among visitors to recognize that other users would be there and that demonstrating a little common courtesy would ensure the experience was acceptable to everyone (excerpts #34-35). In fact, as with some of the other jet boaters he felt that some commercial outfitters were exacerbating the problem by promoting a false image of the experience and intolerance for other uses to their clientele (excerpt #36-38). But overall, Tom felt the situation has improved in recent years (excerpt #39).

With respect to use ethic, statements relevant to two other issues were made. First he did express an awareness of, and a concern for, the alien weed issue (excerpt #40). Second he expressed a concern about the "fee issue" he had heard about (excerpts #41-42).

Tom had just recently joined one of the jet boat clubs. His reasons were political, to add one more number to protect the interests of jet boaters, rather than for social reasons (excerpts #43-44). He also addressed the issue of learning to jet boat safely. He emphasized the importance of learning small stretches at time, the fact that experience on one river (e.g., the Snake) did necessarily prepare you for another (though it was helpful), and that learning while in the same boat rather than by following when the river segment being learned was particularly "tight" (excerpts #45-47).

Hank - Operator, Club Member

Hank owns a jet boat with a partner. He bought the jet boat in 1986 when he moved back to the area. He had lived in Lewiston in the 1950's and power boated portions of the Snake and Salmon with 50 horse power Mercury outboards (excerpt #1). Currently he devotes his jet boating time to the Dworshak Reservoir, Snake River, and Salmon River in that order (200). In the past he typically has spent about a week a month jet boating but in the last couple of years, other than hunting season, his business and building a shooting range have taken most of his time. For the same reason, he has not been to the upper Salmon in 2 years. When he does boat the Salmon it is to go to the Polly Bemis Lodge that his partner has a share in or to go steelhead fishing (89-99). He also hunts above the Salmon along the edges of the Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness (351-357) using 4 wheelers (116-117) and has snowmobiled to the Whitewater Ranch in February to fish for steelhead (223-225).

The Salmon River corridor is seen as unique because of its topographic features. Hank describes it as a tough, unforgiving land, "somewhere between no man's land and hell" (except #2). It is the "River of No Return", harder to navigate than the Snake, with bigger, sharper rocks, and little room to maneuver on the river itself (excerpts #3-5); no place for beginners (excerpt #6). This ruggedness generates a sense of respect for the area, not only with respect to the skill required to negotiate it (excerpts #6-7), but also with respect to caring for this place (excerpt #3). Another distinct advantage of the narrow, rugged topographic characteristics of the place is the opportunity it provides to view wildlife (excerpt #8). In fact, opportunities to view wildlife feature prominently in his memory of experiences in the area (excerpt #9).

Also with respect to the experience, while Hank spends less time emphasizing the thrill and adventure as a motivation than some of the other boaters interviewed, he does emphasize the skill required to operate a jet boat on rivers (excerpt #10). As with many of the other jet boaters interviewed he notes that being experienced and capable on the Snake River does not necessarily mean that one is capable of running the Salmon (excerpt #5). He emphasizes the importance of learning from experienced boaters and the need to run segments of the river several times before being able to feel confident in the ability to do so (excerpt #11). As with other jet boaters, he also noted seasonal variation in difficulty (excerpt #12).

Hank's responses about wilderness suggests that primitive, wild areas have a certain feel or prestige that promotes appreciation (excerpts #13-14). However, his response also suggests this is a consequence of the character of the area rather than its political designation. Like many of the other jet boaters, Hank's use ethic emphasizes use tempered by a concern for resource protection (excerpt #15). While he recognizes that any level of use will be associated with some degree of impact ("visible presence"), he believes that responsible users playing a stewardship role can maintain the area in an acceptable condition for wilderness (excerpt #16). As with other jet boaters, access, particularly for the elderly, disabled, women, and kids is a concern and a rationale for allowing jet boat use. This issue of access appears to be increasingly relevant as he ages (excerpts #17-18).

With respect to jet boat use on the upper Salmon River, Hank felt there was not much a presence by private jet boaters (excerpt #19). With respect to conflicts between floaters and jet boat users, he felt problems were evident on the Snake and were attributable to actions by some segments of both types of users (excerpt #20-21). In contrast he felt that problems were not occurring on the Salmon, in part due to the lower jet boat use levels, but also because there was a different type of user on the Salmon. Because of its difficulty, the Salmon weeds out those jet boaters that lack an appropriate use ethic (excerpt #22).

With respect to current management decisions, he feels that in the Forest Service decisions are being made at a level above the local offices by people who do not have a clear idea about the conditions in the field and who, at times, ignore the information they do have (excerpt #23). In part, this situation appeared to be a motive for joining the Northwest River Runners - to support an organization of river runners that keeps its members abreast of different issues regarding the rivers (excerpt #24). However, he also notes that the river stewardship role played by the club was another motivation for joining (excerpt #25).

As a final note, like many of the jet boaters interviewed with respect to the issue of interactions between users, he related a "help story" in which jet boaters helped floaters out of a tough situation (excerpt #26).

Josh and Steve - Passengers, Unaffiliated/Club Member

Josh and Steve are brothers, and though not jet boat owners, do frequently ride as passengers. Josh estimates the he spends about 30% of his days off jet boating and Steve about 15%. Although neither owns a jet boat, Steve is a member of the Northwest River Runners, having joined about 5 years ago when he first heard discussions of limiting use on the Snake River (391-420).

In addition to jet boating they hunt, horse pack, and raft (excerpt #1), having floated both the main and middle fork of the Salmon. Josh and Steve do not have a singular attachment to the Salmon itself, they basically enjoy all the accessible rivers in the state (excerpt #2). In this regard, they recognize a difference between themselves and the jet boat owners whose investment in jet boating Josh sees as a reflection of how deeply the jet boat owners enjoy and "love that area" (excerpt #3). However, Josh and Steve do feel the Salmon has unique characteristics including its remoteness ("...you're a hundred miles from no where, literally... You could die of a simple wound" [excerpt #4]); lack of people, especially rafters; and opportunities to see big horn sheep (excerpt #5). Also, even though they are not jet boat operators themselves, they do recognize the difficulty and skill required to jet boat the Salmon and this generates respect both for the river and for the jet boaters who navigate the river (excerpts #6-7). In terms of their own experiences however, Josh and Steve emphasize the importance of jet boats as a way of accessing a unique area that they might not otherwise be able to experience in a busy life with limited free time (excerpt #8-10). Finally, unlike some of the jet boat owners, their discussions of the experience did not place much emphasis on the cultural past or presence in the area.

Josh indicated that the wilderness designation for the area held no special meaning for him. The meaning of Steve's response to the question was a little ambiguous. His response suggests that he valued the untouched (undeveloped) nature of the area that comes with wilderness designation while at the same time being able to access it via the river (excerpt #11). However, later in the interview he also expressed concern about what he perceives to be the Forest Service's interpretation of the management implications that go along with wilderness designation - feel good it's there, but don't touch (and perhaps do not even look) (excerpt #12).

The brothers' use ethic does reflect themes of responsible shared use, although they did not literally use the term. With respect to the current situation, they do not perceive congestion (excerpt #13). In fact, the Middle Fork is far busier, although Josh also notes that it is the cleanest river he has ever been on as an indication that it is not being overused (i.e., the resource is in outstanding condition) (excerpt #14). Further, in their experience, the interactions between users on the river are positive, friendly, and reflect established norms for proceeding through rapids (excerpt #15). While they do feel some restriction on commercial groups is warranted during the peak season, they do not see justification for limiting after the peak season (excerpt #16). In fact, like a number of the jet boat operators, they do perceive that on the upper Salmon, the river itself is self-limiting, implying a belief that jet boat use limitations are unnecessary (excerpt #17).

In light of this perspective, they attribute the push towards use limitations to two factors: selfishness on the part of a small subset of commercial outfitters and "lack of common sense" on the part of the Forest Service. The "selfishness" in pushing jet boaters off the Salmon is not acceptable when a regional outlook is taken - only a few rivers allow jet boating, rafting is not banned on any federal rivers, and other rivers offer an experience without jet boats (excerpts #18, 19). With respect to this issue, as with many other jet boaters, the brothers believe the outfitters should be held responsible for communicating the reality of the experience on the Salmon (you will experience jet boaters here) (excerpt #20).

The "lack of common sense" issue stems from the brothers' concern that Forest Service personnel turn over too rapidly. Their perception is that with each change in personnel there seems to be a new policy, made by someone who lacks an understanding of the unique and diverse context of the National Forests in Idaho. While this critique encompasses forest management in general, in the brothers' view it has implications for the jet boat issue in particular (e.g., the perceived lack of understanding by the Forest Service of actual use levels or that the upper portion of the Salmon river requires so high a technical level of skill that it self limits the number of jet boats [excerpts #21, 22]).

On a final note, although they were passengers and not jet boat owners, the brothers not only recognized the difficulty of jet boating as described previously (excerpts #6-7), they also indicated the need to learn through apprenticeship with more experienced boaters (excerpt #23). Also, as with many of the jet boaters operators, they perceived many floaters see jet boats as a desirable "safety net" (excerpts #24, 25).

Andy - Landowner, Club Member

Andy is a landowner with a cabin on the upper Salmon River. He first went up the Salmon River on a power boat in 1972. He bought his own jet boat in 1988. He jet boats on the Snake and Salmon rivers. Last year he put about 100 hours on his jet boat. With respect to the nature of the experience, Andy did indicate general family activities, swimming and picnicking, were sought at times (excerpt #1). However, his original motivation and primary interest was in fishing opportunities. Especially appealing is the opportunity to get "first water" when steelhead fishing (excerpts #2-4). Excerpt #4 suggests a greater interest in the activity of fishing than the activity of jet boating itself in comparison to some of the other jet boaters interviewed. While he did acknowledge the challenge and skill of jet boating, indicating that he found jet boating to be harder to learn than piloting an aircraft (excerpt #5), his responses during the interview placed far less emphasis on these dimensions. Instead his responses describing motivations and the experience dealt primarily with fishing as indicated in the excerpts presented above and the following responses emphasizing access. With regard to the issue of access, he emphasized the opportunity jet boats provide to enjoy the area in the course of a life where free time is limited by demands of work and family. This stood in contrast to rafting, an activity he enjoys but often cannot find enough time to participate in (excerpts #6-8). Excerpts #6 and 7 raise a related issue in regard to access - as a local with little free time, he also values the opportunity to be able to gain access to the river on short notice when he finds an empty spot in his schedule.

Despite owning a cabin on the river, his responses suggest less of an emotional bond to the place compared to some of the other jet boaters. When asked if there were something that made the river special, his initial response was that there was nothing distinctive as far as backcountry, or features of the area, goes. However he did indicate that one of the things that made the river distinctive is that it was one of the only rivers where one can jet boat. A second distinctive feature arose from the first hand knowledge of the river that comes with time. He now values the river because he knows the holes, where the fish live. To Andy this is first hand knowledge is important and something it would take time to learn on a new stretch of river (excerpt #9). Finally, like other jet boaters he also recognized that the distinctive feature of the Salmon as a river for boating was the rocks that make it a more technical river, compared to the Snake that has big water and hydraulics (excerpt #10).

Wilderness designation itself did not carry any special meaning for Andy. The restricted access due to the lack of roads does make a difference - it reduces the number of other fishermen and gives an advantage to those who have the ability to operate jet boats, but the wilderness designation itself makes no difference (excerpt #11). As with some of the other local jet boaters, this view may be influenced by living in Idaho where the state as a whole is seen as still being relatively natural, as Andy notes he sees elk in his backyard (excerpt #12). Finally, in a response not directly linked to a question about wilderness, but possibly relevant to a discussion of wilderness related values, he did suggest that he values the freedom from control or regulations that he hopes to find in these type of areas (excerpt #13).

Like many of the other jet boaters, Andy's use ethic seemed to reflect concepts that fit under the theme of responsible shared use. Although he did indicate he was aware of some problems between users, especially with respect to professional guides (excerpt #14), he believes that Forest Service management should focus on encouraging different types of users to share the resource. But he felt that the current planning process was actually pitting different types of users against each other (excerpt #15). As a specific example he referred to statements he had heard about research being used in the planning process that indicated floaters were college educated and jet boaters were not (excerpt #16). He could not see the relevance of that issue. First, he seemed to feel it served only to create artificial categories - he and many other jet boaters also raft. Second, he seemed to feel its underlying purpose was to portray jet boaters in a more negative light. In contrast, he felt a relevant distinction was that jet boaters often own their own business and therefore have limited free time.

The implication is that, while they might like to raft, jet boating often is the only means of access their busy schedules allow. All things considered, he felt that everything on the river was fine as it stood (excerpt #17). In fact his use ethic did seem to include a stewardship dimension with respect to trash and keeping the area clean, and from this perspective the conditions along the river have actually improved over time as river users have become more attuned to this issue (excerpt #18). As a consequence of these factors, Andy has come to wonder if some people in the Forest Service have a hidden agenda (excerpt #19).

Andy is a member of a jet boating club and other organizations associated with the Snake and Salmon Rivers. He indicated that his motivation for joining was to strengthen his political voice. And while he recognized that the jet boating club served other functions and felt it was originally created for other purposes, he felt out of necessity it had become politically active (excerpts #20-21).

Finally, like other jet boaters, due to the difficulty of jet boating on the Salmon itself, he emphasized the importance of being able to learn from experienced operators. He was of the opinion that "in-boat" training important (excerpt #22).

Mitch - Passenger, Unaffiliated

Mitch first rode a jet boat on the Salmon 20 years ago, but noted that most of his jet boating activity has been in the last 5 years. He is primarily a passenger, often with his brother-in-law, but has at times operated a jet boat. He also had jet boated on the Snake. He estimated that he averages 4 or 5 jet boat trips a year. He had most recently been on a jet boat trip on the upper Salmon two weeks ago. In addition to jet boating, Mitch has also done a fair amount of rafting.

Occasionally Mitch makes jet boating a family excursion to visit places like the Shepp ranch and the Polly Bemis homestead (excerpts #1, 2). However, his primary interest in jet boating is as a means of access for hunting opportunities (excerpts #3, 4). He does acknowledge a certain thrill that comes with trying to "figure out" how to run the rapids (excerpt #5). And the difficulty of jet boating on the Salmon, generates a sense of respect for the river and its powerful hydraulics. He compares the activity to flying, only "in a jet boat, you can get in trouble faster than you can in the air" (excerpt #6). However, he notes that while jet boating up the rapids adds something to the trip, it would not spoil the trip for him if he could not jet boat in (excerpt #4).

When asked if the Salmon held any special meaning for him, Mitch responded that it is not like he had grown up on the river and indicated that there were other places in Idaho to which he held a stronger emotional bond for that sort of reason (excerpt #7). However, he noted that he did see the Salmon River as having some special and unique characteristics. One such characteristic was that it is one of the few rivers on which jet boating is allowed (excerpt #8). In fact in his view jet boating is part of the Salmon River culture now (excerpt #9). And when compared to another river where jet boats are allowed, the Snake, he described the Salmon as a more technical river. Also, he felt the Salmon River provides access to a kind of country and opportunities to view wildlife that are unique at least in Idaho (excerpt #10). The history of the declining salmon run on the river is also viewed as a sad, but significant aspect of the place as well (excerpt #11). Overall all then, although he did not have the kind of bond with the Salmon that might come from growing up on the river, it has come to be a special place for him and he does envision returning every year (excerpt #12).

For Mitch, the wilderness status of the area does make a positive difference. This difference relates to its physical characteristics in relation to hunting. Because it is wilderness, there is less hunting pressure and the absence of roads enhances hunting and wildlife viewing experiences (excerpt #13). However, whereas the Wilderness Act defines wilderness as a place where humans are visitors who do not remain, like a number of the other jet boaters interviewed, Mitch described the upper Salmon as having a sense of community (excerpt #14). And, rather than detracting from the area's wilderness character, that sense of community was seen as making it more meaningful. Also, as noted previously (excerpt #9) he saw jet boats as part of the culture of the area. Mitch noted especially during the Fall steelhead fishing and hunting season there tends to be a lot of jet boat activity. However, even as one who is environmentally sensitive (he described himself as "a tree hugger back before any of these Johnny-Come-Latelies knew what tree hugging was" [241]), he saw no problems or contradiction with wilderness (excerpt #15).

Mitch's use ethic for the Salmon River is linked strongly to the knowledge that the Salmon is one of the only rivers in the region that allows jet boating (excerpts #8, 16). While he feels that jet boats do not hurt the recreational experience one can have on the river, he does note that there are other rivers (e.g., the Middle Fork and the Selway) that do offer an experience free of jet boats for those seeking that experience. Further, even though he describes himself as an avid environmentalist, his response indicates he does not believe that jet boats cause any significant environmental impact (excerpt #16). With respect to management, he is an advocate of measures to reduce the impact of recreation on the environment (e.g., fire pans and chemical toilets) (excerpt #20). While he recognizes there may be conflicts on the river between floaters and jet boaters during the summer, he would like to see the Forest Service try to "deal with those conflicts" rather than further limit numbers (excerpt #16). For example, in his experience as a rafter, it does not really make a difference if there is 1 jet boat or 5 jet boats in a group, so nothing is really gained by limiting the number of jet boats per group. Plus he notes he has never really seen more than 3 jet boats together (excerpt #17). And like a number of other jet boaters, Mitch believes that due to the technical difficulty of jet boating the Salmon, the river will be self-limiting (excerpt #21). Mitch is also an advocate of educating river users, but also recognizes that there will always "be idiots on both sides" (excerpt #18). Finally, with respect to the relations between the Forest Service and jet boaters, while he notes there might be misconceptions on both sides, Mitch feels that Forest Service has a good understanding but is facing a difficult task in determining how to deal with the increasing amount of use. If there are any misconceptions about jet boaters, he feels it would be among some floaters who "have a picture of jet boaters as just macho, instead of being on Harley-Davidsons, they're on jet boats and it's all about speed and all that kind of stuff" (excerpt #19).

Mitch was not a member of a jet boat club, but did note the role these clubs play in educating new boaters how to run the river (excerpt #22). With respect to learning, personally Mitch and his brother-in-law just put the boat in and went, although they had taken several trips with outfitters prior to getting their boat. However, he believes it is more typical for new boaters to learn by running with experienced boaters, first riding in the boat with them and then following them through the rapids (excerpt #23). Finally, he felt that river running knowledge was transferable across rivers, but that it would be easier to go from the Salmon to another river rather than the other way around (excerpt #24).

Troy - Passenger, Unaffiliated

Troy had been jet boating on the Salmon for 8-10 years. While he had operated a boat before, he indicated that he was primarily a passenger and did not own a jet boat. He had jet boated on both the Snake and the Salmon, but primarily the Salmon. He had most recently been on the upper Salmon the previous Fall for a steelhead fishing/deer hunting trip. He estimates that he jet boats on the Salmon 3 to 5 times a year typically with length of stay ranging from a couple of days to 10-12 days.

Steelhead fishing is Troy's principal motivation for trips (excerpt #1) though he sometimes goes when it is not even fishing season "just to take the ride up the river" (excerpt #2). Hunting may be combined with fishing trips; his group hunts for deer, but not elk because elk are so high up "by the time you get to the top it would be dark" (excerpt #3). During nonfishing/hunting season he enjoys watching wildlife and notes especially the abundance of bears (excerpt #2). Also on his trips he enjoys what he calls the "social hour" by which he means the opportunity to visit with other river users (excerpt #4). He also enjoys experiencing "river time" as "a good escape from our fast lane life in the world here" (excerpt #4).

Troy's responses indicate that he primarily sees jet boats as a means of access (excerpts #5-7).

He describes being able to "run the river as a highway to get to places where a lot of people can't go" (excerpt #7) and noted that he originally started to fly into areas 18 years ago then turned to jet boating as his group began to acquire their own equipment (excerpt #5). Part of his motivation for jet boating was to escape increasing numbers of other recreationists; he described himself as a local who started to move to more remote areas when he started seeing other people in his fishing areas (excerpt #6). He also indicated that he felt jet boat owners recognized that their boats offered a means of accessing country that many others cannot go, and made a conscious effort to "share that a little bit" by taking older members of the community to these remote areas (excerpt #7).

When asked if there were something special about the Salmon, Troy responded that the remote, roadless, and scenic nature of the landscape along with the human history (old ranches) made the area special (excerpt #8). He also linked his interest in the place to his childhood as a native of that area. But unlike some of the other locals who described this specific place as home, his responses suggest he sees it as characteristic of a class of backcountry areas he is attached to (excerpts #6, #9).

Although he characterized the Salmon as a remote roadless place he visits to get away from people (excerpts #6, 8) and valued "river time" as a means of escaping the fast paced life (excerpt #4), when asked if the fact that he was in wilderness up there made a difference he responded no. His complete response seems similar to the view of some other local jet boaters in that it reflects the theme that he had grown up enjoying this type of backcountry, before it was declared wilderness, and that designation has not changed it (expert #10).

His use ethic reflects the theme of shared use (excerpt #11). When asked what issues he might focus on if managing the area his thoughts went to the controversy between floaters and jet boaters. His first thoughts were of safety issues, but having never heard of an accident between floaters and jet boaters he dismissed the relevance of this concern (excerpt #12). Another of his responses indicates that he considers resource impacts as an issue worth consideration and potentially a legitimate basis for regulating use. However, his personal experiences and observations indicate that no such impacts are evident (excerpt #14). He felt the real source of the controversy was due to the fact that the two user groups represent different cultures and each thought they had ownership. Floaters, being the larger population, benefitted from having "a wider audience to share their thoughts about ownership" (excerpt #13). However, he thought it was not rational to let planning/management to be driven by that alone "because everybody owns it."

Finally, when asked about the learning process for jet boating on a whitewater river, like many other jet boaters Troy emphasized the importance of the knowledge being passed down from experienced users to novices (excerpts #15-16).

Rick - Operator, Club Member

Rick has owned a jet boat for about a year and a half. In his first year he put 80-90 hours on his boat, divided between the Salmon and Snake Rivers. He had been on the Salmon twice, most recently on a Western Whitewater club run. The earlier trip was for elk. His motivation for getting a jet boat centered around his interest in hunting and fishing and the desire to do these things in a place without many people (excerpt #1). As a consequence jet boats were seen as a means of accessing a remote river setting for these types of experiences (excerpt #3). He also described jet boating as family oriented activity (excerpt #2). And, in addition to an interest in hunting and fishing, there was an interest in the scenery, to be out in the wilderness, to face the challenge of boating the river, and to be with other people (excerpt #3). As a family oriented activity, Rick was interested in opportunities to access the river in short time frames (for one day or over weekends) and during the summer when the family had the greatest amount of free time (excerpt #5).

Rick had a great deal of respect for the river and the level of skill it took to jet boat it. For example, he described the experience as a "family adventure" which was all "business, you're just not up there for partying" (excerpts #2, 6). As a new boater whose "technical skills aren't real good"

(237) at the present time, his focus during the jet boating experience itself was centered on the river rather than opportunities to enjoy scenery (excerpt #7). This respect for the difficulty and danger involved in jet boating on the Salmon was also evidenced through his concerns about safety. First, he felt that due to the danger, it was "imperative" for there to be opportunities to boat in groups of two or three (excerpts #8, 9). Further, he indicated that the current restrictive nature of the permitting process made it difficult for several boats to get permits at the same time and that this was keeping him off the river in the summer due to safety concerns (excerpt #9). Additionally with regard to a concern for safety and his respect for the difficulty of jet boating the river, as a novice operator, he was seeking opportunities to learn from experienced boaters both through riding with them and by following them through rapids (excerpt #10). In fact, the opportunity to learn from other boaters was his primary motivation for joining the Western Whitewater Association. His interest was in learning, not only the technical aspects of running the river, but also in learning the rules, both formal and in terms of less formal river etiquette (excerpt #11). And, unlike some of the more experienced jet boaters interviewed, he saw the organization's purpose as being primarily educational in nature (ranging for learning to boat rivers to stewardship) rather than political (excerpt #12).

In contrasting the Salmon with the Snake River, one of the distinctive characteristics he noted was that, while the Snake had two or three bad rapids, on the Salmon "it's a challenge almost the whole time you're on the river. If it's not one thing, it's something else" (excerpt #13). When asked directly about the Salmon's unique characteristics he indicated the scenery and the limited access (excerpt #14). When asked about the special meaning the Salmon might have to him, Rick indicated the value of having a wild river in the state (excerpt #15). When asked specifically about whether the fact that the river ran through a wilderness carried any special meaning, his response referred to the lower number of users. However, his response suggests this was a consequence of the physical character of the area - its lack of accessibility, rather than due to its designation as wilderness (excerpt #16).

Rick's use ethic emphasized a concern for equity in the distribution of use among different types of users. He also re-emphasized the importance of being able to jet boat in groups for safety reasons (excerpt #17). Additionally, like many other jet boaters, he felt that jet boats represented a safety net not only for other jet boaters but also for rafters (excerpt #18). Finally, an earlier statement reflected a concern for stewardship in terms of river users picking up their own litter (excerpt #12).

Bob - Operator, Unaffiliated

Bob first rode on a jet boat on the Salmon in 1975 and liked it so much he bought his own jet boat in 1976. He used to belong to a jet boat club, but is no longer a member. When asked why he decided not to maintain membership, he responded there was no specific reason, he just had not been mailed a membership renewal. He has jet boated on the Salmon, Snake, Clearwater, and Payette Rivers. He estimates that he jet boats about 25 days a year and was last on the Salmon River in mid-October. Bob indicates that he usually only jet boats the Salmon in the Spring and Fall outside of the control season although he occasionally takes summer trips (excerpts #1-2). Summer trips are usually social events and overnight trips. As operator Bob enjoys running the river and reading the water (excerpts #2-4) while passengers enjoy the scenery and wildlife, especially bighorn sheep (excerpt #2). However, there is no one thing in particular that stands out as the focus of the trip, rather it is the whole experience (excerpt #2). Spring and Fall trips are devoted to fishing and hunting (excerpts #1-2) and the jet boat becomes a means of access facilitating these activities (excerpt #5).

When asked about the distinctive characteristics of the Salmon, Bob responded that the right mixture of brush and timber and the opportunity to see game stood out in his mind (excerpt #6). He also valued the opportunity to be in an area that was primitive and away from people (excerpt #7). Similarly, when asked if the fact that the area ran through wilderness made a difference, he indicated that he valued the opportunity to be in a place away from people (excerpt #8). However, in response to this question it is not clear if he was responding to the actual wilderness designation or just the physical characteristics of the area.

With respect to management and use of rivers for jet boating, Bob is a bit pessimistic with regard to the direction he sees things going. When he built his most recent boat in 1992 he felt he would only have 5 years to use it before things were so restricted he could not access the rivers anymore (excerpt #9). He is concerned that management is directed toward cutting out jet boaters and would like to see the focus instead be on promoting sharing the river (excerpt #10). His responses suggest that he sees the underlying rationale for restricting jet boating to be the potential impact it has on the floaters' experience. He recognizes that floaters do not bother jet boaters as much as jet boaters bother rafters, though he does note that the number of rafters in the summer and sometimes their visible displays of dislike for jet boaters can be annoying (excerpts #10, #11). Although he does not use the area much in the Summer, he would like to see it become a little easier to get a permit in the Summer so he could use it two or three times (excerpt #12). Also, because there are very few rafters outside of the Summer season, he sees no rationale for restricting jet boat use during those times (excerpt #13).

As with other jet boat operators, Bob emphasized the difficulty and long term nature of the learning process ("You don't just go buy a new boat and head up the river, let me put it that way) (excerpt #14). He suggested that opportunities to learn while riding with someone on the boat might be more beneficial than learning through following behind (excerpt #15).

Ted - Operator, Club Member

Ted grew up boating on lakes and rivers (excerpts #1-2). After a 20 year hiatus, he started to jet boat on rivers again 2 years ago. Prior to owning a jet boat he had run a drag boat, outboards, and a sprint boat. In addition to the Salmon, he indicated that he jet boats on the Snake and Payette Rivers. He had most recently been on the upper Salmon River the previous October on a steelhead fishing trip. Currently his use of the upper Salmon is limited to the Fall for steelhead fishing, often camping at Warren Creek (excerpts #3-4). He indicates that although he has an interest in boating the upper Salmon in the Summer, his activities on the Salmon are limited to the Fall due to hassles with the permitting system, number of floaters, and rudeness of the floaters (excerpts #3, 5). With regard to permitting, like many other jet local jet boaters, flexibility in terms of the ability to decide at the "last minute" to take a jet boating trip is highly valued but something that is not possible under the current permit system (excerpt #7). While jet boating is often a family activity and he has taken his children on the Salmon, his response indicates the family activities are centered around the Payette because of the danger involved (excerpt #6). He described the activity of jet boating itself as a "rush" (excerpt #8), but like many other jet boaters he has developed a great deal of respect for the challenge and skill involved in jet boating on a whitewater river (excerpts #9-10).

When asked about any distinguishing characteristics about the upper Salmon, like most other jet boaters he referred to the challenge of jet boating. In rapids like Ludwig, "you better know what the hell you're doing" (excerpts #11-12). However he also showed less of an attachment or bond to this particular river compared to some of the others interviewed. He describes the Salmon as a trip he does and the Salmon and the Snake as the best two he has ever been on, but couldn't "say it's the best one in the world" (excerpt #13). For him the Salmon and Snake offer different scenery, but they are equally beautiful (excerpt #14). In fact, this theme in part underlies Ted's response to the question about whether the fact the upper Salmon was designated as wilderness made a difference to him. He said no, and the rationale provided with the response was that, visually, you could not tell the "wilderness" portion of the Salmon River canyon from the portion of the Salmon not running through designated wilderness or from adjacent areas like the Snake (excerpts #15-16). Thus for Ted, wilderness designation carried no meaning, it looked the same as other backcountry areas in Idaho, a theme also expressed by some of the other local jet boaters. In fact, though he lived in the area, the concept of a designated wilderness apparently held so little significance to him that he was not even sure what the boundaries for the Frank Church were (excerpt #17).

Like many other jet boaters, Ted's use ethic emphasized the concept of shared use. He noted that he felt over-congestion was a possibility and one that the Forest Service should guard against (excerpt #18). However, he felt that currently there was a great inequity in the distribution of use that favored float boaters both on the Salmon itself and for rivers in the region as a whole (excerpts #19-21). He thinks this unequal treatment is particularly hypocritical and unjust considering both jet back services used by floaters and the fact that floaters expect to have access to jet boaters for rescues when they become stranded (excerpt #23). Overall then, his primary management concern is correcting the current inequality in the way in which jet boaters are treated (excerpt #22).

In addition, his use ethic does include a stewardship dimension. He felt that jet boaters had "always [taken] care of the river" because they "want to go back next week or next month ... and don't want a mess to go back to" (excerpt #24). He noted that while there is a "bad apple in every crowd" he felt in general jet boaters did more to care for the area than floaters; he has always packed out more trash than he has packed in due to garbage he attributes to floaters.

Ted's responses indicate that currently, the relationship with the Forest Service is problematic (excerpt #25). He lacks faith in Forest Service planning/decision making and is suspicious of the motives underlying agency management actions (excerpt #26). Like some of the other jet boaters interviewed, one of the responses indicates a perception that those responsible for decision making and management are increasingly out of touch with the resource that they are managing (excerpt #27).

These concerns about management and the relationship with the Forest Service appear to be underlie his decision to join a jet boat club. He indicated that he had joined last year, not because he had time to participate in the group's social activities to any great extent, but because he would be another "number" to help carry political weight. In fact, he noted that both his children were also members (excerpt #28).

Finally, with respect to learning, Ted, like most other jet boaters described it as an apprenticeship process and he emphasized following more experienced jet boaters as part of the learning process (excerpt #29). He also felt that knowledge of how to run one river did not necessarily mean a jet boater would be able to run another river with different characteristics (excerpt #30).

Ben and Jeff - Operators, Club Members

Ben and Jeff both own jet boats, Ben for about 10 years, Jeff for 14. Both are members of the Northwest River Runners. Ben describes jet boating primarily as a summer activity on nice weekends. Jeff indicates that he devotes 15-20 days a year to recreational jet boating. They jet boat on Flathead Lake in the summer and, due to their lack of familiarity with specific rivers, they jet boat on rivers primarily during high water in the spring when it is safer (excerpt #1). They indicate that time, weather, and constraints of life (competing demands) serve to limit the amount of time spent jet boating. Rivers the pair have jet boated include the Clark Fork, Bitterroot, and Flathead. Both have boated the lower Salmon from Whitebird down to the Snake, but only Jeff has been on the upper Salmon. The last time was 10 years ago when he rafted down and then was jet backed. Although lack of time is one reason they indicate they do not jet boat on the upper Salmon, its level of difficulty and their lack of familiarity with it are also prominent reasons (excerpt #2). In fact, both see the level of difficulty as a distinguishing characteristic of the upper Salmon and Jeff experienced first hand the danger this section of the river presents to inexperienced operators on his jet back trip (excerpt #3).

They were originally attracted to jet boats because of their love of boating and rivers. Both had experience rafting, and a major appeal of jet boating is the access it allows - both in terms of the ability to go up as well as down river (which they feel gives greater opportunity to appreciate and learn about the area) and the ability to experience an area even when time is limited (excerpts #4-6). Like some of the other boaters, specifically identifying what "makes" a good trip was difficult. When asked about the favorite part of the experience, they initially gave responses like "just going" (Ben, 87) or "there isn't a single thing, it's the total experience" (excerpt #7). However, the solitude; beauty of the area; opportunity to be with family in an environment away from distractions; and opportunity to explore the human history and impact on a place were all identified as dimensions of the experience (excerpts #7-9). The thrill and adventure of boating on whitewater were also identified. And though it was portrayed as a challenge to be overcome (excerpt #10), the difficulty of jet boating on whitewater generated a respect for the river and a sense of humility (excerpts #2, 3, 11).

Wilderness designation for the area carries no special positive meanings for Ben and Jeff. Much of this view is driven by their knowledge and awareness of the human history of the area. Ben sees it as a "manipulated, political wilderness ... that came at a late date" after the area had a long human history (excerpt #12). And while he does not want to see the area developed, he feels the wilderness designation has interfered more than helped. Similarly Jeff notes that he tries to preserve any resource that he uses, so the wilderness designation carries no added significance in that sense. Further, in his view "the history of the Salmon has been the history of boating" (excerpt #13). He briefly traces the history of boating on the Salmon, noting that power boats came first. His response suggests he doesn't see a big difference between the technological developments that make rafting possible for the general public compared to technology that made jet boating possible (excerpt #14). Further, their responses indicate that they are aware of continued human presence in the form of inholdings (excerpt #15). Overall, as indicated in excerpt #12, wilderness designation actually has negative connotations - of restricting access (excerpt #16) and increasing polarization by engendering a false "either/or" dichotomy in management decisions (excerpt #17).

With respect to recreational use and management, both Ben and Jeff recognize the need to manage recreational use to protect the experience, though neither is certain how accomplish this (excerpts #18-20). They suggest the problem is not the inherent incompatibility of different types of users, Jeff found the jet boaters on the Salmon to be courteous to a fault and, as a rafter himself, did not find them incompatible with the experience. However, Ben and Jeff did note the situation begins to get problematic when congestion and competition for campsites occurs (excerpt #21). Ben feels that another dimension of the problem is that people in society increasingly have become intolerant of others, are unwilling to share, and think they have a better right than someone else to be there (excerpts #21, 22). In fact he feels that wilderness has contributed to that intolerance (excerpts #22). Where deference is given, he feels it should belong to the locals (that's their backyard) rather than commercial ventures serving nonlocal clientele (excerpt #24).

Finally, there are a few miscellaneous issues. Several comments throughout the interview suggest that Jeff and Ben's use ethic includes a stewardship dimension holding users responsible for taking care of the resource (excerpts #25-27). As with most other jet boaters they indicated they learned how to jet boat from other, experienced boaters (excerpt #28). As with many other jet boaters they indicated that they joined a jet boating club in response to concerns about attempts to eliminate jet boating from rivers (excerpt #29). They felt this was the primary concern of the club, though they noted other functions, especially the stewardship role the club has taken upon itself (excerpt #30).

Denny - Operator, Club Member

Denny has been jet boating for about 18 years. He joined the Western Whitewater Association in 1982 "primarily to become involved with an organization that was attempting to look out for the well-being of the jet boating population" (314). He took week long trips on the upper Salmon in the Fall during 1982-1984. However he primarily uses the Hells Canyon/Snake River area spending about one week there during the summer and as much time as possible there on the weekends during the Fall steelhead season. Steelhead fishing was also the purpose of all three Fall trips on the upper Salmon. As this suggests, his greatest interest in jet boating is centered on the opportunity it provides to fish for steelhead, and when the fishing is poor he curtails his Fall jet boating (excerpt #1). However, he does recognize other dimensions of the experience, the peaceful attitude (excerpt #2) and the thrill of being able to run it and run it successfully (especially in the early years [excerpts #2, 3]).

Unlike some of the other jet boaters interviewed, Denny's responses did not show an especially strong attachment to the Salmon River itself. As noted above his jet boating is focused primarily around the activity of fishing. Also, when asked if anything makes the Salmon distinctive his initial response was that he could not think of anything that made a great difference to him (excerpt #4). However, he did note that the opportunity to view wild sheep distinguished it from the Snake (excerpt #4). Other responses throughout the interview indicated two additional distinctions associated with the Salmon River. The first was the technical difficulty of boating the Salmon compared to his primary river, the Snake (excerpts #5-6). In fact, like a number of the other jet boat users interviewed, he felt that as a consequence of the difficulty and danger involved with boating on the Salmon in the summer and the Fall, the upper Salmon was self-regulating with respect to the number of jet boat users who would even attempt it (excerpts #9-10). The second distinctive characteristic was actually the permitting system, which was so tight in the summer that he has focused his boating activity on the Snake (excerpts #7-8).

The wilderness designation of the area itself did not carry any particularly significant meaning, he was not even sure where the wilderness boundary was. For him, this designation would have significance only if it limited automobile access. However because it does not, the distinction was not perceived as an important issue (excerpt #11).

As a consequence of the technical difficulty of the Salmon, Denny felt that the opportunity to learn from an experienced operator and then to continue to develop expertise by the opportunity to take multiple trips were important parts of the learning process. Overall he felt that riding in the boat with an experienced operator was more useful that following behind (excerpts #12-13). He also addressed the issue of being able to boat in multiple boat parties as a safety precaution (excerpt #14) and expressed concern about how the current permitting process on the upper Salmon might influence that (excerpt #15).

Denny's concern with respect to management of use in the area was on achieving an equitable distribution of use among the different types of users (excerpt #16). Overall Denny felt currently there were not major conflicts among types of users, in his view everyone was out there for the same reasons (excerpt #17). He did note that large parties of rafters was an annoyance because they caused lengthy delays at rapids. But, as with the interview with Rich (study phase I), Denny's response suggested that in the spirit of "responsible shared use" it was the jet boaters responsibility to not let that inconvenience diminish the quality of the trip (excerpt #18, 19). Denny did feel that some users, particularly some of the float outfitters were trying to reserve the river for their use only and would not be supportive of achieving an equitable distribution of use (excerpts #20-21). And he was concerned at higher levels of management and decision making that the Forest Service would listen to one group more than another rather than seek to achieve equity (excerpt #22).

Byron - Operator, Unaffiliated

Bryon has owned a jet boat only since 1995. Prior to that he had twice been a passenger on a jet boat trip to the Shepp ranch, having first boated on the river in '82 or '83. He had most recently jet boated on the Salmon the previous November. He also had experience boating on the Snake and the Clearwater. He estimates that currently he spends about 50% of his spare time jet boating. However, he describes himself as "not really a strong whitewater user" (excerpt #1). He devotes more of his jet boating time to lakes especially around Cascades where he has a cabin (excerpt #2). Byron's primary motivation for jet boating on the Salmon is to fish (excerpt #3) and as a consequence he has only used it in the Fall. His companions are typically 2 or 3 other "guys" (excerpt #4) and while he has thought about taking his wife, she does not like the jet boat (excerpt #3). While the primary focus is fishing, the group does enjoy the scenery and wildlife (excerpt #4) and typically the trips are 1-2 days in length (excerpt #5). Even though his wife is not interested in jet boating, overall he believes jet boating has become a family-oriented activity, a situation that he perceives as a change in orientation from a generation ago when boaters were more likely to be interested in "put[ting] the horsepower in the boat and ... slam[ming] it up those rapids" (excerpts #6-7). He has been approached by other jet boaters to participate in family pot lucks (excerpt #6) and knows the president and vice president of one of the jet boating organizations (excerpt #8). However, he has not joined a club, possibly because he does not consider himself a strong whitewater user (see excerpt #1).

Byron felt that a distinctive feature of the Salmon River canyon was its beauty, but he indicated that it did not have special meaning for him other than as a place to steelhead fish (excerpt #9). When asked directly about the area as wilderness, he responded that the fact that it was roadless and that there were not going to be many people in it in general were positive features of the area (excerpt #10). On a somewhat related note, later in the interview he indicated that he would like to see the area kept in its natural state rather than see facilities like interpretive centers developed (excerpt #11).

With respect to management overall, Byron did not have strong views. He was not an advocate of limited use realizing that outfitters were trying to make a living down there. At the same time he did not want to see it become too commercialized (excerpt #12). Also, unlike other jet boaters who mentioned it, he spoke in support of the new use fees, provided the fees would be used to maintain the area in its current state (excerpt #13).

As a relatively new whitewater jet boater, Byron also spoke to the issue of learning. He indicated that the process he used was to first ride with an experienced operator on that individual's boat and then have the experienced operator ride with him on his boat because each boat has different capabilities depending on its size and power (excerpt #14). He also indicated that he felt it was necessary to get instruction on each river attempted because of differences in characteristics (excerpt #15).

DATA EXCERPTS
Howard and Tammy

Personal History

[I'm] from the ... area. We used to float it in innertubes. Oh, man, that was a blast. I'll never forget the first time they started floating them with these rafts. And a bunch of rafters come in.... I was working there. And they says, oh, that's so exciting, I can't believe that. And I looked up at them and I says, how much did you pay? And I don't know, back then it was a hundred and some. I says, I could have taken you on my innertube for free. [laughter] I couldn't believe they were paying to do what I'd done all my life. (Tammy, 1092-1108, #1[3])

... you might see it a hundred times but you're still interested in ... what happened, like Buckskin Billy. See, I knew him personally. ... I met him when I was 20 years old, the first time. And he walked around and he had this goofy hat on, you know, leather hat. And so I met him. He used to come across the river when we'd go in there fishing. And I'm 57 now, but that happened when I was 20 years old and I just started fishing steelhead and he was a friend of one of the guys that was working with us. And this guy would always have a fifth of whiskey with him. And Buckskin Bill would see that rig come in. Boy, he come [inaudible] so he could have some of the -- he'd stand around and talk fishing and drink whiskey and stuff. (Howard, 175-195, #2)

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[3] The information following the data excerpt identifies the speaker (a pseudonym), the location of the statement in the original interview, and the excerpt number (a sequential numbering that corresponds to the order in which these excerpts are referred to in section 1 of this report [Relationship to Place: Summary of Interpretations]).

But, you know, to go in there and go fishing with everybody, because when I [got] in there and go fishing I can only fish one hole anyway. And that's right where the boat dock is, you know, but I sit there all day and fish. And that's how I got to know Zeke because he'd come down and he'd feel sorry for me because everybody else has gone down river four or five miles fishing down to Campbell's Ferry, you know. I don't know if you've heard about Campbell's Ferry or not.... The woman that used to live there and had Campbell's Ferry was ... Francis Zaunmiller. See, I lived here too at that time. She was still alive. ... I talked to her quite a few times and walked up there. (Howard, 778-793, #3)

I: Does the Salmon have some special meaning to you then? H: ... To me, it's a part of my life. I can't imagine not living on a river like this, you know, and the things that it gives you.... [it's still special] every time I go (Howard, 819-832, #4)

Since 1979 I've owned, [before then] I rode with Zeke West up there.... And a lot of times I'd go in there fishing and I can't walk, you know, and I'd be sitting here fishing and he'd come by and ask me to go fishing with him. So he'd -- we'd take off down there and go fishing someplace. And one time he asked me to go up the river to -- I don't know what the name of the place was anymore, but about five miles up from Whitewater Ranch, go fishing with him one time.... so I got to go up. And then once I rode down with him, you know, from Whitewater Ranch to Mackay Bar to going fishing. (Howard, 4-21, #5)

I: What initially attracted you to jet boating? H: One thing is not being able to walk. I couldn't fish steelhead because I'd be on the Salmon River and couldn't walk through the rocks to get to any holes. And I'd sit on a rock and then I'd have to have an operation on my butt because the bones would go through the hide because there's no feeling, see? And so I'd have to have operations and .. So I have to go -- when I go I have to have something to sit on soft all the time. ... and these guys come by, some of my friends out here that run boats since about '69. Jim ... out here, I got to be friends with him and he'd come and want me to go with him, you know, and so he'd take me down the river fishing. And, hell, he'd park the boat there and I'd catch fish out of his boat. (Howard, 30-55, #6)

Experience

Boating - Respect for River, Skill

I: In terms of jet boating on whitewater, how is that different than boating, say, on other types of water? H: It's a hell of a lot more thrilling. (Howard, 64-65, #7)

But, you know, you think about, there's not very many people running jet boats because they're afraid of the rivers. So we're very minority. (Howard, 1530-1531, #8)

I never go up when it was real high .... I never was up there -- like say June and July a lot of times it gets up to its peak, you know. And a lot of them boaters go up there and they enjoy that. But I'm a little bit spooky. I'd ride up with somebody, you know. Like this Bill Fisk, I'd go any place with that guy, you know. ... He knows what he's doing. (Howard, 1729-1742, #9)

H: It gets up to high, it's getting pretty dangerous, you know. There's suck holes and the water's travelling a lot faster. I don't know how them people float that sometimes. Gees. I'd look at some of those big ol' holes and go -- suck holes like this and I went over when I was rafting, and it'd suck the ... raft right [down]. T: You see them out there in their rafts and muddy and the river's just roaring and you think, are you nuts? Are you really nuts? I don't even want to go out there in the boat. H: You've got to be a real thrill seeker when you do that. (Howard and Tammy, 1747-1768, #10)

H: I have a lot of respect for them people that have taken their boats up to -- there's just a few rapids that are really dangerous, I think. And they've learned how to go through them rapids. And you go up with them and you don't even know -- it's like you're out on the lake or something, you know. ... our boats don't go fast ... most of the time we're only going five miles an hour. T: It feels like you're not moving. You wonder, are we stuck? H: ... these boats will go maybe 30 miles an hour, I suppose. They can go that fast. But when you're coming into them rapids you pull down and, hell, you're just climbing them. You get into this like you're walking a trail and you're moving along so slowly you can see all kinds of stuff. When you come down through them you ain't going usually -- I think them boats plane maybe at twelve miles an hour, fourteen miles an hour. (Howard and Tammy, 963-1002, #11)

You know, you go out and you're just in wilderness, ... there's no roads down there. If you break down you're at the mercy of the river. ... And I can't walk out and most of them can't. They'd have a heart attack. They're old people. They'd have a heart attack, you know, if they tried to walk out. See, it's at the mercy of the river down here. And that's what makes it neat. We have to take our survival stuff with us. (Howard, 74-88, #12)

H: And I did have to spend the night down there once. I: No kidding? What was that like? H: It was easy. I had all my stuff with me for survival. I didn't, you know, I had just -- my boat quit on me and I couldn't come out so I had to spend the night down there right in the middle of the winter. And it got down to 0, you know. H: And I had a little propane heater with me and some storm window plastic and boxed it in and had a good time. Survived it real easy. (Howard, 93-106, #13)

I: So is there ... something about the Salmon that makes it different from other places then? H: I think so. ... one reason, it's rougher than, you know, average. When they called it the River of No Return, that's what they meant. You know, when you're messing around on the river with any kind of boat, you know, it's unforgiving ... When you make a bad mistake it can cost you really quick. You can take people up there that's never been there before and they feel so good when they come back that they got to see, you know -- that they were on the River of No Return and survived it. [laughter] (Howard, 223-239, #14)

If you can run the Salmon River you can run the rest of them. ... The Salmon's going to classify you. If you haven't been on the Salmon and you can run the Snake, don't come over to the Salmon and try to run it because you're going to crash. You're going to crash and sink. (Howard, 1804-1811, #15)

H: ... this club down there, if you go down there, most of these guys have never been on the Salmon. And they're afraid to go on the Salmon. Just because it's -- it's -- it's unforgiving. You don't -- it's narrow and shallow. (Howard, 1851-1858, #16)

Cultural History of Area

H: The grandchildren were just here. ... they always call me up in the summer time. We go down for a picnic or something on a Sunday or Saturday, whatever and look around, go sturgeon fishing. T: Looking at just the sights, like the Indian stuff, you know, they have on the rivers. Our grandkids wouldn't be able to see it, so we take them down there and show it to them. H: Yeah. Some of the old mines that are down there are really fascinating.... During the Depression these people mined there and there's, if you know where to look, they got old cables ... And we'd just go down through there. And then the China diggings that are down there, they'd pile all these rocks up.... Yeah, there's a lot of history there, you know, that is really important. (Howard and Tammy, 116-125, #17)

Nature

H: I think that anybody that runs there, it's the whole -- the whole feeling you get when you're all done with your fishing trip is something you -- that is with you for years, you know. Because you come back feeling good knowing that you were part of nature, basically. (Howard, 1392-1396, #18)

And the bighorn sheep and the elk that are down in that place -- man. Especially in the spring of the year, like now, big elk herds all over and bighorn sheep. Man, you can get pictures that is out of this world in there just by cruising by. And they stand right on the sandbars fifteen feet from your boat and look at you, you know. They don't do that when hunting season's there; they're pretty gone. (Howard, 209-220, #19).

T: [Catching the sturgeon] was something. It was amazing. And those are things ... if my grandbabies would have been there, which they very well could have, if we weren't in a boat they couldn't have been there. T: Because a three, four -- well, five year old cannot walk that far. Now, they could have been with us and seen that. ... Oh, she'd have had a blast. H: She would have got to pet that fish ..... We rolled him up on the sand bar just a little bit to take a picture, then we rolled him back there and pushed the sand off -- then washed the sand off, and look at his mouth, and look at them beady eyes he's got. Them little kids ... they'd remember it the rest of their life. That's important, I think. T: That's very important. I mean, that's prehistoric. That's something you do not -- I lived on the Salmon River since I was a child. I did not see those because they're under deep in holes. Unless you catch them you're not going to see them. But it's really neat, really neat. (Howard and Tammy, 1049-1088, #20)

It's fun. And quiet. You get stopped somewhere and you just listen and there's nothing. It's so quiet. Airplane, they're about the most annoying thing there is, you know. But it's really nice. ... I was sitting on the boat yesterday and they were busy fishing, and I ate my lunch. And I thought, I'm so tired. I laid down. I went sound to sleep. (Tammy, 1013-1028, #21)

Access

T: Last time he floated I told him no more. H: I went through that rapid down there ... with that little boat of mine, and I was getting tired when I got down there.... And all of a sudden flipped my little tiny raft ... the last rock, it's kind of a nest turn and there's a big rock before it. It's going the other way. Well, I made it on this side ... short of the rock and went over the waterfall and had to float it out, you know. Of course, I had a good, expensive life preserver and I done that three times, got out of that raft in different rapids in the couple years that I had it. And I decided that maybe I can't control it good enough. I'm going to drown if I keep messing with that. So I put an ad in the paper and sold it because I was afraid I ... It's [rafting] fun and you really get into that stuff. But I thought, you know, a guy would live a lot longer if I got rid of that thing. I can control my jet boat. That little raft I couldn't. (Howard and Tammy, 469-501, #22)

T: [When you operate a jet boat, you get to] decide where you're going to stop, where you're going picnic, you know. You take your time. When you're on a float .. excursions. They control it. They tell you when to eat, they tell you where you're going to stop. It's not as fun. (Tammy, 423-438, #23)

But it's important to me to be able to do that. I was with guys who have a lot of respect for me because I was with them in the wilderness. (Howard, 268-269, #24)

They're going to stop everybody from seeing it except for the guys that are strong and healthy, you know. And they actually have done that. If you ain't strong and healthy ... and you ain't scared of nothing, jump in that raft and we'll run you right through there .... It'll be all yours. You don't have to see nobody. And that ain't right because what about the people that are old and come out here to run a trip ... and they're stopped immediately because it's shut down to them, you know. (Howard, 1217-1225, #25)

T: He ... he told us right to our face that basically because my husband's handicapped, he's already -- what was it he said? 'You're incapacitated anyways, so what difference does it make to you?' H: Yeah. 'You can't go up there because, you know --' T: 'You're handicapped.' H: '-- the river's not for you so you don't need to be up there anyway.' He told us right to our face in front of a whole bunch of people. ... And I was the only disabled person there, trying to help, you know, talking about -- well, if they're going to shut the river off, what are we going to do with all these disabled people? There's 43 million of them and a lot of them ain't even classed disabled. They're just old people, you know. ... And they're going to shut it all down to us people too. Boy, it made me mad. T: I was furious. (Howard and Tammy, 605-631, #26)

Wilderness

Characterization (see also excerpts 12 and 24)

[Dixie, Idaho] that thing has been wilderness since I was a little kid and my dad would go up there hunting all the time. And you got a little place, 18 people year round residents. Now it's probably built up to 50 or 100 year round residents and the houses are going in at 20 and 30 a year or more. Probably over 20 houses built in the one [year] and that all had to do with Earth Firsters, you know. That wouldn't have never happened if they had kept their nose out of it, you know.... That place up there was a primitive area and I bought my cabin up there so I could be alone. And in ten years it jumped from, you know, from a beautiful place to pig city. They're still protesting. The more protesting they do the worse it's going to get. If they would have just stayed the hell out of there, I'd a had my little cabin up there myself. Nobody would have had to go up there to regulate anything because there'd be nobody there. (Howard, 1351-1371, #27)

Awareness of Socio-cultural Presence
There's a road, Mackay Bar Road, goes over the hill and then we took our four wheelers and snowmobiles. And it's 28 miles and we go there with snowmobile and then jump on our four wheelers and go down and went fishing for two days over there. (Howard, 281-282, #28)

H: We usually had -- the reason to be there is to go fishing, but a lot of times the fish ain't biting or you end up the river is muddy or something, especially in the spring of the year... when the boating's really starting, you know. ... you can just go up there and relax and look at the scenery and, you know, go past the places that are important. Like ... when we was with Zeke West and we come down river and he explained to us about ... that singer, Wayne Newman? T: Newton. H: Newton. He's got that cabin over there. ... He's got a cabin right on Salmon River.... It's right across from that ranch up there.... T: Shepp Ranch, isn't it? H: Is it the Shepp? I don't know. That one ranch, if it's the Shepp. There's two big ranches up there. And anyway ... they said that's Wayne Newman's cabin and then we got back ... the end of the barn ... and we was talking to this one woman and she said she went down there and she knows he drinks whiskey, see? And so she searched all over ... -- because whiskey drinkers stash their whiskey -- and she kept searching around there.... And, by God, she finally found one of his stashes. Had a shot of whiskey ..., you know. But you're allowed to go over there and hunt. Maybe he doesn't own that anymore. T: I think he sold it because he quit drinking and he sobered up and stuff. H: Somehow this ... woman, they rode their horses in there. See Dixie is just a hop, skip and a jump down the Salmon River and they take the horses in there, you know, and ride down there and spend the night. And they went in that one ranch, then they went across the river to that guy's cabin and -- because somebody was showing it down there. And they was allowed to do that. ... he's a, you know, pretty important guy... Now that, to me, that's pretty important. I got to see Wayne Newman's cabin, you know. (Howard and Tammy, 297-356, #29)

Use Ethic
Equitability in Access
H: He [the individual referred to in excerpt #27 as saying Howard was incapacitated and the river was not for him] can go walk over all the mountains he wants to and float all he wants to. But ... the disabled people [deserve] a choice too. T: And the elderly. Young kids... H: ... the worst thing of all is taking a river and saying, this couple here is allowed to go and the rest of them got to stay at home. You know, when it's the United States and it's a free -- free country and we all pay our taxes for this here.... Sure, maybe they have to regulate, you know, because during the summer the rafters are so -- so thick.... T: We understand that. H: There's so many. There's just so many of them that they have to regulate it, and ... they can regulate us with it too. But at least if there's 20 boats going to be running up there, and there's a thousand -- and these 20 boats you've got maybe four or five passengers to a boat, so you maybe have 100 people against a thousand a day, you know. I mean, it seems like they could regulate it accordingly, you know. ... But not to stop and run -- you know, doing like they're doing. A special interest group has taken over and I don't think that's right. (Howard and Tammy, 648-677, # 30)

T: But what I think -- when I was a kid we used to be able to float that river in innertubes and what not, whenever we wanted to. Now we have to sign up. Now you have to be in all this other kind of stuff. You have to basically pay to go on there with these floaters. Bull. Why? There's not enough ... it's small people, like me, that want to go float the river -- to worry about. The commercial is what they need to worry about. (Tammy, 1909-1922, #31)

... what about all the children, you know, that go up -- like the Salmon River there, and never get to see Buckskin Billy's... the special interest group takes it and shuts it down completely to themself, what about ... our children ... that ... live here? It isn't our land. The people that are floating here mostly are from around the United States ... that don't have nothing to do with the Salmon to start with. But we have got no choice but to let them take it over because we don't have the -- we don't have near as many people as -- backing us. You know, we have nobody backing us. Special ... interest groups that want to take it all themself have backing from every place in the thousands paying them people, you know, like the Earth Firsters and stuff. You know, they're in our area too at Elk City. (Howard, 1318-1327, 32)

You know, if you get back to the basics on what they have on the rivers -- there's like 35 rivers in the Northwest ... 31 of them are closed to jet boats, you know. Something's not working out right here. ... [It's] getting very irritating ... being in Idaho and having stuff like happening. I think it's baloney. There are just too many old people and children and stuff that never get to see nothing, you know, and so that shouldn't happen at all. (Howard, 1457-1465, #33)

Stewardship

H: [In reference to club sponsored river Cleanups] You get to meet somebody and get to be friends with them and find out what they're like. T: You meet old and new friends. H: If it makes you feel good.... maybe it is a little bit of work, but I don't look at it that way. Go out and do that all day in the hot sun and stuff, and you come back and feel like you really done something good as far as cleaning the -- T: Keeping what you enjoy clean. T: Basically is what it's all about. (Howard and Tammy, 886-909, #34)

H: We're getting a bad name and they're [rafters] taking all the credit and it really irritates me. We clean up after them, which is -- it's alright, I guess. They don't hurt the sandbars .. leaving trash. You know, they don't hurt the sand or nothing. It's no big deal. They build fires on there. That's great. It washes away in the spring. That's no -- to me that's nothing. But it's the fact that we're getting the blame for a lot of the things they're doing and that irritates me. T: That really irritates me actually. I cleaned up after them yesterday. And you know it's them because they're -- the trash that was there was -- they left wrappers for their bed rolls, those little plastic things that they sleep on, you know. They just bought them or something, they just threw them out on the beach. I'm going ... if you pack it in, pack it out. It's easier to pack it out than it is to pack it in. (Howard and Tammy, 1646-1674, #35)

Etiquette

... when we're [boating] ... and we see rafters coming down through some rapids, we wait. We pull off to the side and let them come through, you know. We try to be courteous. And here all we're doing is getting mouthed at, how noisy we are, you know. [Once] we're sitting down at Mackay Bar eating lunch and I hear this music and I'm looking around. Where is that music coming from, you know? Did one of us bring a radio? And all of a sudden I see around the corner comes this floater and the boombox is blaring. And I'm going, ..., you know, and we [jet boaters] just got done hearing how noisy we were. (Tammy, 1628-1636, #36)

And then they -- it's very embarrassing. They bare their bottoms to us ... and a lot of times they'll be camped and there will be women standing around without no shirts on and stuff. I mean, with no bra, nothing, just standing there, you know. And we're going, uhh, you know, hello..., you know. I'm sorry, we don't do that. (Tammy, 1641-1645, #37)

T: The commercial are more rude. I:... do you have ...feelings for why? T: I think because they're from the city and they think that we're intruding on their space. They don't get to see that very often and they figure we're invading their space, and in reality they're invading ours, you know. They're not from here. (Tammy, 1707-1720, #38)

Commercials are more sloppy. They leave -- I think they try to leave a clean camp, but they don't. Because you -- what have you got? 20, 30 people there? You can't keep track of everything while they're trying to load up. I think it's the -- the ones like us that just go out by ourselves, we do better at cleaning up after ourselves and stuff. And most the time we don't stay overnight anyway. (Tammy, 1680-1693, #39)

Safety

Learning

I'm not willing to push it. I don't push my boat until I know what's -- I ride with somebody that knows what they're doing first: that's what they do, this is where they go, well, I can handle that, you know. (Howard, 944-950, #40)

Club Membership

Service

H: Yeah, it's a group deal. Then we'll be cleaning about 30 miles of river, go through all the ramps, and then we offer prizes to the people that get the most exotic things, you know, from the club. (Howard, 852-853, #41)

Political

I:What were your main reasons for joining? H: When they tried to stop the Snake River, you know, let just the rafters have it, and stop the disabled people and everybody else for them days, it just made me mad. (Howard, 1288-1290, #42)

Bart, Linda, David, and Gary

Personal History

L: Well, my mom and dad used to live up there. It was just cool to go to the places where they lived. I: ... so they actually lived in the portion up above Riggins there? L: Uh-hmm. G: They still do. L: Well, no, they're on the Little Salmon River now. ... But they lived up Big Salmon. They lived at -- well, Dad worked for Mackay Bar. They spent several winters out there. Then they lived on the south fork of the Salmon and worked at Chamberlain Basin and those places, and it was just neat to go back to places.... (Linda, 131-155, #1)

Well, and I grew up on [there], so it was especially nice to go look at a place where I grew up. It's a part of my life. (Linda, 94-97, #2)

Well, for me it's kind of like going home. (Linda, 326, #3)

D: Well, I started in '68. I haven't really did too much there lately. But started back there. My brother was outfitting for elk and we'd use the jet boat to access camps and pack camps in and pack camps out and pack elk out and take steelhead fishermen and pick up people at the end of the road and ... L: Then we'd float us equipment up the river. B: Lots of firefighters in the summer. I: No kidding? G: Yeah. B: Bring the smokejumpers out all the time. G: During a fire they've got boats running up and down all the time. (David, Linda, Bart, and Gary, 719-736, #4)

Wilderness

Awareness of Socio-cultural Presence

There are probably guys that could name every person that can run that river. (David, 1765, #5)

I was very fortunate I got to know Francis there before she died for a few years, and she was the old gal on the river, you know. (Gary, 524, #6)

B: Well, we usually go up the Salmon a couple times a year just because some of our friends have cabins up there, you know. And then when we get up there we stay two or three days to make it worth staying for. And so it's -- it's just a way of transportation. And a lot of people live up there that, you know, about the only time you get to see them is once or twice a year. Either that or talk to them on the radio. D: Yeah, it's more or less like a road it seems to me. (Bart and David, 265-273, #7)

G: He [one well known river user] has flew cargo in there. One time ... he had airplane wings strapped on his boat and there was a couple rocks big as -- well, house rocks. And he had to maneuver through there with the wings ... G: And he's pulled logs up, they've hauled tractors, they've hauled everything you can think of. ... L: And there was another Gary who lived up there who had a daughter who was an age where she was taking part in the rodeos. They hauled that horse down in the back of the boat. ... G: You know, it's part of their life. That's ... they couldn't live without it is what it boils down to, been awfully hard anyway. It's not a total pleasure trip to a lot of people. It's a livelihood. (Gary and Linda, 381-404, #8)

D: I don't know of another place that's like that, where you have, you know, you have canyons but you don't have people living in canyons, you know, go from place to place. And every flat place had a homestead of some sort on it. L: Back in the past. D: Yeah. They all were occupied at one time or another. (David and Linda, 548- 554, #9)

L: But it's exciting to come around each corner and just see the places that you've seen before and to just -- they're like old friends waiting there. G: Well, there's a lot of history down there, there's a lot of history. L: Well, that and they're just familiar places that you want to go see again. (Linda and Gary, 518-522, #10)

Characterization

L: ... we've always lived in mountains and timber, and it's always had that feel. The same thing with that they're calling wilderness. It all feels the same to me. It's just why we like Idaho. (Linda, 944-947, #11)

D: I noticed on that questionnaire they had a lot of like spiritual feelings of the wilderness and that kind of thing. I mean, how could -- B: You'd get the same feeling somewhere else. ... G: ... You can go back up in the canyon here on my place. There ain't nothing around. Is that wilderness, you know? Same thing. L: You get the same feeling from that. G: Same feeling, yeah, yeah. D: It's a wild place. A wild place doesn't have to be wilderness. (David, Bart, Linda, and Gary, 949-977, #12)

I: Does the fact that it runs through a wilderness, does that enter your mind when you're in there? ... D: To me it doesn't have a thing to do with that. I retired from the Forest Service, so I've been in the woods all my life. But going behind that sign doesn't change anything. If that sign wasn't there, it wouldn't change my experience at all. G: It would still be the same. D: I mean, because there's lots of wild places and I like them just as well. (David and Gary, 744-759, #13)

D: ... I think the designation sometimes actually hurts an area. ... It's an attraction to people, just like Yellowstone Park ... they've loved that to death. L: That's true. D: I think maybe it would have been better if we just left it alone. You know, IF they would have left it alone, which is not likely. G: It's the same area regardless of what it's designated. It don't change. D: But then we live around the wilderness all the time. It might mean something more to somebody that's not -- it obviously does. But to me it doesn't mean anything. Just -- actually when I go behind the sign I feel like I've lost some of my rights. L: I feel that way too. G: I feel the same way. D: You can't do everything you could do otherwise. I: What ways? ... G: Well, like you can't use a chainsaw, something like that there.... D: We've burned yellow pine trees out of the trail when they're that big around because you can't get them out any other [way] ... L: Well, then you always feel like somebody's watching over your shoulder ready to take it away from you so that you can't use it at all if it's wilderness area. (David, Gary, and Linda, 760-796, #14)

Salmon Unique

D: One thing that's a little bit unique about this is the depth of the canyon. It's just -- it goes from like 8,000 feet down to three or something. It's five or 6,000 feet deep. Most ..., like the Lochsa up here, you can walk out of it, you know, in a day. You can walk to the top in a day. It's a hell of a hike but you can do it. But the Salmon River now ... [laughter] G: Better take a couple horses with you. D: You look off here -- you're hunting down there and you can see airplanes flying below you. You see an airplane fly by once in a while and they're below you..., (David and Gary, 997-1016, #15)

G: There's no highways along it, number one. You're not going to see a bunch of cars running in and people and stuff. And, you know, there is a few places that a road goes down to it, but not that many. And if you don't like it there you can go down another half mile and you're away from it. B: I think most rivers ...probably have long flat spots like maybe two or three miles. ... B: The Salmon don't ... L: Every corner's a rapid... (Gary, Bart, and Linda, 590-601, #16)

B: Some of the Salmon is really tough to read ... you really need to be a good boatsman, you know, 'cause it's one of the fabulous rivers of ... anywhere.... L: There's no room for error. B: You have to remember all the rocks that you can't even see. And it doesn't matter where you launch at. Down at the Spring Bar, I mean, you're going to encounter some real big rapids within every turn, every quarter of a mile. (Bart and Linda, 46-58, #17)

Experience

Boating - Respect for River, Skill

D: Usually you're going somewhere, but the ride is a big part of the trip, maybe the major part of the trip. Even though actually you've got a destination, the ride is -- it's not like having to drive a car up and down the freeway or something. L: No, no. D: It's a lot of fun. (David and Linda, 355-362, #18)

D: ... I mean, it's ... intense -- very intense. G: Very stressful if you're operating. D: You just don't make a mistake. G: You've got everybody's life in your hands. ... You don't go up there goofing around. (David and Gary, 212-224, #19)

B: I stay awake half the night before I run it. ... I: No kidding? ... out of fear or terror or just excitement? G: There's a fear factor. B: I'll run it two or three times, you know, each rapid as they come that day before I ever get in the boat. ... you never know how many people you're going to have, how you're going to do this, and how you're going to do that, and how heavy is the boat going to be, which is a big factor. (Bart and Gary, 483-498, #20)

L: ... when you look at that water, if you've ever ridden up through a rapid ... where the waves are higher than the top of the boat, you soon get a healthy respect for what kind of water you're in. D: Yeah, that will eat you up. L: And you just better know what you're doing. (Linda and David, 1846-1852, #21)

G: Zeke, there ain't nobody knows the river like he does. L: He makes it look easy because he's done it so much. G: But, you know, he does it every day for 25 years in the bad thing part of the river. (Gary and Linda, 73-78, #22)

Now, I'm not particularly interested in running the boat. I like to go, but I'm really not interested in running the boat. (Linda, 1426-1427, #23)

Natural Attractions

... it's not a race, you know. They do have jet boat races, true, not up in that part of the river. But these people that are boating like this, these are family people. They're not down there for a boat race. They're there for all the reasons any other family would go on an outing. And I can't speak for anybody else, but I think that most people are of the same thought. (Linda, 1752-1754, #25)

L: But if you've never gone up there and seen that canyon if you've never looked up at the rocks and seen deer and elk and hopefully bear and mountain sheep. G: Bear, sheep, a lot of sheep. L: I mean, it's just -- D: Wolves. .. L: Yeah, yeah. That'll put an end to the rest of it maybe. But, anyway, it's just the scenery and just being there and the sound of that water. I mean, it's a rush that you don't get any other place. L: It's just a place you want to be. G: Just peace and solitude is what it boils down to. (Linda, David, and Gary, 248-307, #26)

Well, you get away from the crowd is what it boils down to. Even if you're going fishing. You're not going to have a bunch of people around. (Gary, 322-324, #27)

Cultural History of Area

L: Well, and then just to realize that however many years ago people settled there. They lived there and made their livings there and -- G: They went in on horseback or afoot and settled it. L: And they didn't leave. I mean, they stayed. G: Didn't have no way to get back out either, you know. There's some tough old boogers have been there. L: They lived there and it's just awesome to go back and realize it. It humbles you to realize that they lived there. G: And you can see some of the structures and stuff they built by hand, you know, out of rock or hand-hewn logs. It's amazing to see it. (Linda and Gary, 610-630, #28)

Access (see excerpt 7 also)
It's just a means to transport yourself and that's what works. I mean, some people kind of think that everybody that wants a jet boat does it because of all the power and the speed and all that. But that's not the reason that we got one. (Linda, 245-247, #29)

The only way even a senior citizen even stands a chance to ever see anything like it there is by jet boat; or handicapped or anything. It's the only way possible they could ever see it. (Gary, 128-129, #30)

[My wife asked] "Well, why's he calling you?" I says, "I don't know. He wanted to talk to me." I says, "I'm going to go talk to the man." And she was totally upset. Says, "they're just trying to keep us off the river." You know, she's got rheumatoid arthritis now, so she's limited to what she can do. ... but that's the first thing that hits your mind, they're trying to take another right away. (Gary, 1376-1383, #31)

Use Ethic
L: I think that they need to monitor the use level. It's just unrealistic to think that you can't. But I don't like to see additional restrictions at a time when they really don't show that they're needed. G: It ain't there now. ... L: I think that they're doing a close enough job of watching it to know if the beaches are overused and to know if it's taken care of or not. (Linda and Gary, 1292-1303, #32)

D: I don't think that the floaters are really any problem with the jet boaters. You know, it's an inconvenience but it's there. And as far as the rafters go, they have the right-of-way, so, ... G: We're the only ones that are ever held up. ... D: You move out of the way for them. And the only controversy that I could see would be the noise, noise pollution. L: But have you ever noticed that when you go around one corner you can't hear a boat? ... If you're standing around one corner on the Salmon River you can't hear nothing. (David, Gary, and Linda, 1092-1111, #33).

B: I think actually we're getting along real good and ... other than the rafters have us outnumbered a little bit, I think everything's working good. I really do. G: I don't have a problem with rafters, just ... I feel that the size is out of line. You know, we're allowed one boat and then you look over there and ... they've got ten boats.... And we've been camped in this place, have our tents all set up and here comes rafters late in the day and they're trying to find something. Well, there's a little spot next to us. You know, we had this place all to ourselves and here come another 20, 30 people right in next to you. L: But we've also ... met some really great people sharing campgrounds with, people we never would have known. (Bart, Gary, and Linda (1992-2017, #34)

D: It's just another part of the trip. It's like going to an air base and watching the planes take off. If you don't have them in your back yard they're plum neat to watch. G: ... the rafters, they see a jet boat coming ... through some big water, they'll try to get over to the side to watch the boat come up. L: Well, it's interesting. G: They enjoy watching it too, yeah. L: There's a skill level and there's something else that allows a boat to go the same as the skill for the floaters coming down through. ... we've watched them come through rapids. G: Oh, yeah, yeah. I see a bunch of them come through big water, I pull over and watch them too. L: Yeah. Should have respect for each other's abilities down there. (David, Gary, and Linda, 1125-1150, #35)

D: I've commercially floated the Salmon River for fifteen years and I never had a person or client in my boat ever said an adverse comment about jet boats. B: ... glad to see them coming. ... D: I've been in the jet boats and I've been in the rafts and I've never, you know ... G: It's just a small minority that's trouble, that's all. (David, Bart, and Gary, 441-463, #36)

B: And the private jet boaters, they're -- they're just almost extinct down there. L: Yeah, you don't see them. They're an endangered species for sure. (Bart and Linda, 2231-2234, #37)

G: It's some of the ones that's radical. L: For the most part I think people get along. G: You know, they're just selfish is what it boils down to. There's plenty of room for everybody. B: There is. G: ... I'd say at least 90 percent of the rafters and all are as friendly as can be. You run into one every now and then ... just because you're on the river you're no good. (Gary and Bart, 424-438, #38)

... there are some that all of a sudden it's their priority, it belongs to us, to hell with everybody, you know. (Gary, 1197, #39)

B: I think where a little bit of the problem is the outfitters with the rafters is building their wilderness experience up for their clientele to -- L: Sell a wilderness experience. B: Yeah. And if they would just say, hey, we may encounter a jet boat along the way but it's no big deal. ... L: Try to make it a positive ... instead of negative words for them. (Bart and Linda, 1223-1235, #40)

And it's not right. They're trying to take the river for theirself. ... if they had it theirself nobody could get up and down that river. Well, I can charge you more money and I can get more people. It's just greed. (Gary, 1280-1284, #41)

Stewardship

G: ... I don't care how they look at it, if you got 20, 30 people coming down on ... four or five rafts, the one jet boat coming up there with four people, now who's going to have the most impact on an area? But they still got the right to be there too. L: Well, nobody's damaged it. It's important it's being taken care of. (Gary and Linda, 804-815, #42)

B: I think ... the campgrounds and stuff are in a lot better shape now than they used to be.... G: You might occasionally have one that's booked a trip ... that [says] ... "well, I'll never be back here, I don't care." But most of the people do now. ... D: Everybody takes care of these places. (Bart, Gary, and David, 824-833, #43)

L: ... I think you also have a feeling about it that you're just going to treat it with a lot more respect. ... And it's not necessarily ... because ... it's a wilderness. We don't litter wherever we go. We just don't. It's a rude thing to do and we just don't. ... G: Well, there ain't nothing any more upsetting to come into a camp someplace and there's trash there. ... Even to leave their bag and it's all bagged up, just didn't want to bother to take it out. It's upsetting. L: But the campgrounds there are much cleaner than any other place and the river corridor is clean. You don't see -- not even paper. You don't see it. D: Generally, I'm sure you have a little higher class of people, river users of both kinds, than the general public.... L: Well, either that or they just care about it, something. I don't know what it is, but something is motivating people to take care of what they're using. (Linda, Gary, David, 845-874, #44)

L: And I think that the -- I think that the people themselves, if they -- if I saw somebody littering, just deliberately littering something, I'd probably say something to them. G: Oh, definitely, yeah, yeah. I: So you kind of feel like you have a vested interest there. G: Oh, yeah, like you owned it, more so in a way. You want to keep it nice. (Linda and Gary, 900-922, #45)

Control/Management

G: I don't think they pay much attention to the public. That's my way of thinking. They've got their mind made up when they -- when they mention something their mind is already made up. They can do their studies where they want to and they're still going to do what they want to. L: Well, I think they're politically driven and they have a budget that has to be approved by Congress, who sits someplace a long ways away from these rivers that they're managing. ... D: ... a lot of times that they'd like to keep the use at the low end of the scale, you know, where maybe it's not necessarily required to do that. L: It's overprotecting. (Gary and Linda, 1915-1930, #46)

G: ... I don't know it'd be true, but rumors that we do hear, you know, that they'll have people like you do a study ... and then when they go to make a decision it's all throwed out the window. ... They've already made up their mind. L: Well, that's another thing I think that threatens all of us, or we all don't like, is just not feeling like -- G: We're listened to at all. L: Yeah, yeah. L: ... They've lost their credibility with the public ... (Gary and Linda, 1345-1370, #47)

B: I may be a little wrong on this, but we went to one meeting and I think it's really wrong for the Forest Service to ... put a price tag on each person ... for revenue coming in ... on the Salmon, and they're almost doing that. They've got so much calculation out that they can tell you how much each rafter brings in for revenue and each jet boater brings in for revenue. Well, ... the rafters has got us outnumbered ... So the jet boaters, hey, we're not putting the money into the big economy like ... the rafters... And I definitely don't think that they should figure it that way. ... I don't think there should be a price on our heads to -- on anybody. When they start figuring out how much groceries and stuff you spend and all of that.... L: Yeah, he had it figured out by the dollar. ... D: Well, I'm sure that there's probably some real solid truth to that. But what difference does that make? (Bart, Linda, and David, 1934-1961, #48)

L: I think it set back the relation between the floaters and the non-floater.... by bringing all this into focus and having meetings and trying to put numbers on it ... and input from this side and all of this stuff has made their relationship deteriorate because the public and everybody's focusing on -- D: It's making them polarized. L: ... it is.... D: But actual physical confrontations out there, there aren't any. L: There aren't any. (Linda and David, 2088-2108, #49)

B: The Forest Service that rules on this definitely ought to ... go with the jet boaters, they ought to go with the rafters, they ought to go with the outfitters, they ought to definitely know what they're judging on. And the people that's doing it ought to stay in this position at least long enough to get to get their feet wet. L: ... they transfer their personnel around a lot and when it gets to be a hot topic, sometimes people aren't there when you come back with ... and by the time you get your appeals and everything, which are inevitable, many times those people have transferred and you're having to deal with a whole new set of personnel and -- G: Uh-hmm, that's already got their mind made up too. L: Well, or just aren't familiar with everything ... previous. G: But I don't think anybody, Forestry or any of them, ... should be able to make a decision, till they see it and they experience it. (Bart, Linda, and Gary, 2376-2394, #50)

Self Limiting

B: Probably a new jet boater would not take his boat up there. G: No, not on that upper part. ... D: There are probably guys that could name every person that can run that river. ... I mean, there's not that many. L: No, there's not. D: It's kind of a pretty exclusive club. L: But ... the river itself is going to restrict -- keep that use restricted because they're just not -- ... there's certain rapids down there that the water itself is going to -- G: It tells you whether you're going to go up there or not. (Bart, Gary, David, and Linda, 1759-1782, #51)

Safety

Learning

D: This could be likened to a bush pilot type thing. Just because you're a pilot doesn't mean you can land anywhere back in these mountains. L: Absolutely. That's true. D: And in order to boat the Salmon you have to learn it from somebody else, unless you're crazy or damn lucky, you know. (David and Linda, 1788-1797, #52)

L: Well, if you're interested in running it, you're going to get in touch with somebody that you know has some experience and you're going to arrange to learn what they [know]. B: Yeah. You absolutely -- unless somebody showed it to you, you could probably spend 20 years on a jet boat on lakes and normal rivers, and you couldn't run the Salmon. (Linda and Bart, 1807-1816, #53)

Club Membership

I: ... did you have any specific reasons for joining the group? B: Well, it's just nice to go sometimes on spring cleanups and stuff with them. We've done that quite a few years to clean up the rivers from the winter. L: Camaraderie with a group of people that enjoy a similar thing. That's part of it. ... B: And then have a little bit more backing when it does come to floating with the Forest Service and management. And right now we had lobbiers in Boise that's working with Senator Mitchell ... She's paid by our club full time. (Bart and Linda, 1577-1583, #54)

L: But I don't think that their original concept was to be political. B: No. L: I think that that's something that they've been forced into doing. They started out with river safety and all the other things that we talked about, but not necessarily political. It's evolved into having to do that. (Linda and Bart, 1667-1679, #55)

L: But I think that an organization will monitor themselves and other people better than just one person who happens to enjoy the activity. ... B: If you're with a group of people, you don't want the noisiest, baddest looking boat in the group. You're going to upgrade your stuff to where you just fit right in there. L: Well, if somebody comes in with a boat that doesn't have a muffler, they're pretty well told get mufflers on that boat. ... you just don't run a boat that way anymore. ... Gary: If they see somebody in a jet boat doing something to someone, I guarantee, ... they come over and let them know about. L: They're pretty responsible, actually. D: They know that they stand to lose things if they're not. They've got to police themselves. L: I think that as a group of people that they believe in what they're doing too. It's not totally the threat of having it taken away. I mean, these are responsible people. (Linda, Bart, and David, 1694-1727, #56)

Help Story

L: Like on the Snake they eliminated [jet boating on 3 days] ... And they had a bad accident way up the river. Then they decided ... it's okay to take a boat up to rescue that person. And I don't care. I mean, they had a dead body. My God, go, bring the person out, I don't care. But they're the same group of people that didn't want boats up there so that they could have their dang solitude. ... L: He was dead but they hadn't recovered him and ... they asked us if we would watch for this.... G: They can't cover the water in both directions, looking in eddies and all -- out of a raft, where we can. ... We can go any direction. They can only go one way. B: The trouble ... is he was out there swimming when they were camped there and ... the undercurrent got him and took him down through the rapid, and the rafters couldn't catch up with him in time, and the next rapid was BIG, and that's what drowned him, and hypothermia and everything else. Well, lots of chances that there could have been a big jet boat, you know. And Armicross, that's -- he's pulled a bunch of them out, you know. G: He's pulled quite a few of them out. B: Because he runs it two, three times a day. G: I bet you'll ... about every two weeks you'll read in the paper where one jet boat pulled somebody else. That's a lot of lives. They don't stop and think about it. That -- all those lives would be lost. There was a woman -- what was it? Zavarino last year, was pulled out by a jet boat and wrote a big article and had it published in the paper, thanking the jet boats, said they should always be on the river. (Linda, Gary, and Bart, 2430-2472, #58)

G: You know, you're a long ways from any place to get any place. And somebody gets out a boat there or gets throwed out a raft, they drown, get snake bit, break a leg, you better hope there's a jet boat around. ... G: Well, these guys [were rafting and] ... it got away from [them] ... and they was running down and they couldn't even catch up, and you guys took them to catch up [on your jet boat] ... and they'd [of] had to walk all the way out if it kept getting away. L: They were losing one of their people because he had floated ... he couldn't swim .... He probably would have drowned. He had a life jacket on, but I don't [know] (Gary, Bart, and Linda, 1200-1221)

They really like us when we leave early and give them all our ice. Because they're always out of ice. (Bart, 469-473, #59)

Doug and Alicia

Personal History

My mother was born at the Reed ranch which was down on the South Fork. My grandfather ... had several acres back in there as a homestead. ... So they had 14 children, 2 that died, 1 is buried back there on the upper South Fork of the Salmon. So I grew up in Sweet that's where eventually [they] moved out of the back country and we would always go up to the South Fork of the Salmon growing up because that's where my mother's homestead was and that's where her early memories were. We used to go Salmon fishing back in the early days when there were lots of Salmon to catch. We would spend most of our summers back there....

(Alicia, 57-60, #1)

D: Her family traded and her mother traded with the Indians. A: The Indians gave my grandmother lots of recipes. This is how you keep the fish, this is how you find the bulbs in the ground. (Doug and Alicia, 586-589, #2)

When I came back from graduate school in 1975, I was able to work with the University of Idaho here in Bell County extension agency. It was my dream to get out and experience as much as I could. I had helped my uncles trap cougars and wolves. They were government trappers, they were very earthy people. So in my summers, I would work for the Forest Service all through college and I would go with my uncles ... and help them trap and hunt in the backwoods. (Alicia, 61-65, #3)

D: My dad was ... head engineer for Idaho power in Pocatello. A guy by the name of Rex Lamb ... built a lot of transmission lines for Idaho Power and my dad hired him to do a lot of transmission in the Salmon and in Hells Canyon. Rex bought a ranch back there in the Middle Fork with Dr. Dean and Bill Guethe, Sr. at Thomas Creek. When I was nine years old, Rex asked me if I'd go back there and help him hay and drive tractor. That was in -- A: '53 or '54. D: Somewhere like that I went to the backcountry. ... Rex would take me up there as soon as school was out. It was always within about three days of when school was out and brought me back three days before school started. I spent most of the fall and summer back there at Thomas Creek. We did most of the haying, putting up the hay for the horses and stuff like that. And then the dudes would show up to go salmon fishing. One of my jobs was to walk up to the big hole there at Thomas Creek and help bring back the salmon that the dudes caught and then of course we'd give the horses hat. I did that, I think for two years. Helped build a swimming pool there. I think I did that for about 2 years, 2 or 3 years. Then Rex bought the cabin ... over on Big creek and he bought the lower ranch. ... there was just a small cabin there and then we went up and we logged. We got all the logs from Johnny Vines and I can't remember how far Johnny Vines [was] up the river. But anway we'd leave in the morning with pack horses and saws and stuff and we'd go up there and we'd cut down the trees. Then the girls would come at lunch time and they'd bring us our lunch. They'd take back our ... animals.... We'd float down the logs. That's how we built the cabin. Lee Backus was running the river. The only outfitter that I can remember that was running the river, the Middle Fork was Lee Backus. When he came down it was quite a deal we got to see some other outside people and the outside world. Most days the telephone was working and we'd call the lookouts and talk to the people up and down the river, the Tuckers, backpackers, Forest Service, it was quite a deal to see somebody, you know, invite them in. Like I said, you couldn't get radio reception during the day time but after the sun was set and the air was heavy, you'd get radio stations out of Boise. So that was pretty ... much our lives. (Doug, 7-44, #4)

But I helped build the main lodge and the cabin across the creek. ... I stayed there until I graduated out of high school. The year I graduated out of high school I went to Alaska with Rex during the salmon [run], we would take the Salmon eggs. So in 1964, the summer of 1964 was the only summer I didn't spend at the cabin up there in the wilderness. From '58, '57 to 1964, every summer I spent in the wilderness and then that year I graduated and took me to Alaska because it was better money ... So then I went into the Service and came back and went to college and undergrad. And then I came back to McCall, oh boy. (Doug, 74-81, #5)

So it's always been my goal to live as far back as I could or at least visit it. ... So as soon as we could ... we tried several times to get the old homestead place from ??? Brown. He was never interested in parting with it ... So as soon as we could purchase land or get back to the backcountry we would take every opportunity we could. (Alicia, 66-70, #6)

Before we had property there, we would go along the river and I think we had Easter one time, was it China Wall? When our baby's were real tiny and had an Easter basket with another family and went hiking and found a few sets of horns to make some money to pay for the gas. But it was a way to leave the city and to go camping when we found horns that would pay for the fuel that little trip to do. (Alicia, 239-241, #7)

D: Even when I was ... about thirteen or fourteen years old, ... when I was back in Cabin Creek my goal was someday ... when I marry and I have children I will come back and would spend some time in the wilderness. And that's why we homeschooled. My family didn't want to go back there originally. When I finally got them back in there, the first of March I left at the airport and we landed at Mackay Bar and we homeschooled there. When I went to leave, I had a heck of a hard time getting my family to leave the things because they loved it so much. We had a great time. A: We had the plane and the jet boat back there. And the horses. When it got to be, we would come out once a week and then once every two weeks and then once a month. [Laugh] (Doug and Alicia, 526-536, #8)

Salmon Unique Characteristics

So I guess that's what's special about the Salmon to us. We feel connected. (Alicia, 632, #9)

I enjoy it because my mother grew up back there on the South Fork. We've got a lot of stories concerning the river and a lot of history. And when I go back there I can hear her talking about when the Indians would come and ... would lay [the Salmon] on the banks and how they would trade their furs for the moccasins of the Indians. ... So when I'm back there I feel a part of the family that lived in that cabin and all of the episodes that they talked about. So I guess I can almost see the Indians and the Salmon in the river. (Alicia, 578-591, #10)

I: ... what does the Salmon mean to you, if you can put it into words? [long pause] A: I guess to me it's kind of like, what is your home like to you. ... It's really hard to explain what all of that means. But it's a very precious place. We've taken our children from the time they were babies so that they could appreciate a lot of the things that we feel. Our oldest daughter is 18 and graduated and she shows professionally in the horse world ... she's tied up showing all the time, so she doesn't get back there and she told us the other day that it had been a year and a half since she had back there. And so we were thinking maybe for Mother's Day even if it was just for Sunday because she was really feeling the need, it's kind of like needing to go home. ... So I guess that's how I would describe it, I guess. ... Is there anything you would say about [it]? D: How many times have you come close to death? How many have times you come close to death? ... Well, my daughters, the time we lost the engine - A: Helen was probably 5. D: ... so the river could've taken us that day. And the time [the horse rolled on her in the river], that's when she was 12, she could've died. So it means a lot. And there's a lot of times when you fly back there, the weather's so bad that you thank your lucky stars that you made it back out. There's some people here in town that'll vouch for it. They didn't know if they were going to make it or not. So it means a lot to me. It means a lot. It means to survive and to use common sense and to be able to enjoy it. ... It means a lot to us. (Alicia and Doug, 466-511, #11).

Experience

Boating - Respect for River, Skill

I: What initially got you interested in jet boating? D: The river. ... I used to have drag boats ... but the lake was getting boring so I moved on to do the river. The river changes all the time. ... Different times of the year. Low water, high water, different challenges. (Doug, 176-193, #12)

... I would guess we kind of got into it as we saw what a challenge it was. ... I don't think we'd done very many trips with people until we got our own boat. If we wanted to survive we had to have our own boat. It was real crazy. One of the first times, I think [a friend that took them jet boating] came out of there at dusk. It was kind of like a headlight on the front trying to see where the rocks [were]. I mean it was really stupid, so we decided we would get our own boat. (Alicia, 199-205, #13)

Right now we got a window blown out. We went through ... Chittam and we blew a windshield out. (Doug, 676- 677, #14)

D: ... just enjoying the river and enjoying contacting other jet boaters ... the thrill and the challenge and the experience. ... Some go up there and love it and they can handle it. Some never return. A: We had two friends this year who did their first trip and their last trip. ... D: They had trouble right up through Dried Meat and they lost it. The water came over the windshield and [an experienced boater] turned around and says, "Let's go up and try it again." And [the novice boater] says "I'm turning this boat around and I'm headed home." (Doug and Alicia, 702-711, #15)

Nature
Part of is the river, but part of it is where you go. I mean it's absolutely pristine up there. Just the wildlife that you don't see anywhere else and the quiet and the beauty. And I would have to say that we're jet boaters, but we appreciate it like any rafter would. ... the peace and quiet. (Alicia, 206-210, #16)

D: I think I enjoy the scenery the most. I really enjoy the scenery. We took some people who have never been on a jet boat just this last week, never been on a jet boat, never been in the area. ... and we seen three wolves. The first time I ever saw a wolf. ... that was pretty exciting. They didn't even see us. They never did see us. ... I: Wow, so they were right along the -- D: No, no, no. We were walking. ... And we know definitely for two and we thought we seen the third one. But they didn't even see us. Luckily we sat down and were just looking at the side of the hill and all of a sudden, here they come. A: Yeah it was really a treat. ... And we watched them for maybe five minutes, it was a treat. ... D: Well we seen close to a hundred head of elk. We've seen deer and we've seen chuckers and sheep. (Doug and Alicia, 252-290, #17)

Cultural History of Area
D: On our place we saved a place where there's a tepee ring. We saved it and we had a fire pit where the Indians actually built a fire to smoke the salmon. ... we have ... Chinese dwellings on our own place and we can go down there and show the people ... where the Chinese were. ... A: We have collected a lot of the history of the river. So when we bring guests back to our house, we probably spend a couple days reading the history of the area. And people are fascinated with the stories that the early Chinese, the Indians ... So we have a big book of just history. And then the Badley family, what they were like and how they got all these ranches and what was the thinking and growing trends. They were making moonshine. D: They were making moonshine. And we read the story about Tom Colman. His appendix burst and so he came out to McCall and a nurse came back to help. He finally died and he gave the ranch to the nurse. The nurse had no use for this 90 acres back there. So she traded for Tom Copenhagen for half a beef. She got half a beef free, he got the 90 acres. So that's the story! ... That's the truth. That's part of history. ... be able to share it, don't lock it up and leave it so nobody knows about what happened. Ninety percent of the people on the South Fork were running from the law ... that's what made our country. We all didn't live in Lewistone, we don't live in Boise. You see what I'm saying? A: We never bring a guest in there that doesn't come back with a lot of feelings of what has transpired in history. One of the biggest things that helped me to understand how important it was was Larry King's paper, ... he's the archeologist for the Payette National Forest or maybe it's the other forest. They were doing a dig at Mackay Bar while we were homeschooling. And he said this is history. This is as far back as our history goes is Lewis and Clark. That's written down. It doesn't go back very far. Get back to Europe you can go back centuries. D: We're a young country, we're very young. Larry King he was really nice to us, he really helped us to understand the Chinese and to understand what we're looking at. (Doug and Alicia, 593-629, #18)

Access
Last year we had to go up on a recreation trip ..., we had to go when the water was just right. We had to ... be on ... a day's notice of when we were leaving, within 48 hours. ... Because when you do the upper part, the water has to be just about right. Underneath some of those bridges we only had maybe two foot of clearance on that upper part to go underneath the bridges and underneath the cable cars. ... In fact, one time we even went to the bridge and we backed down because we were afraid the boat wouldn't make it underneath the bridge and at least we could pull out from underneath the bridge if we went in backwards instead of forwards. ... and then the rest of the time, after high water you can't do very much and when the river is flushing itself out in extreme high water, like right now, probably this next week when it really starts warming up, the water will continue growing, and you better be watching yourself because you get sucked pine cones and needles and stuff like this. It's not wise to go up in the extreme high until it drops down two or three feet and it's flushed itself out and the river's clean itself out. (Doug, 218-243, #19)

I feel sorry for you younger kids because it's going to be locked up. It's going to be so that it's going to cost you a lot of money. In today's world, you don't have two weeks to go back there and spend. We're in a faster, our country's moving, our world's moving so you're going to be able to get in and get out in two or three days or whatever it has to be. So, anyway, times are changing. (Doug, 369-373, #20)

And then when we would take my parents or his parents, one time we took them to Mackay Bar and spent the night there and what a treat to have them see the sheep along the river. They were both old at the time and my dad had cancer. (Alicia, 242-243, #21)

Wilderness

Characterization

I: You both obviously went up there ... before it was designated wilderness, the Frank Church, so one of my questions is does the fact ... that the river goes through a wilderness ... make a difference one way or the other? D: Don't make a difference to me. ... It's a river. It's a river that's got a reputation. ... The wilderness don't make no difference. The wilderness, you know -- the river didn't make no difference between Lewiston and Riggins so it didn't make no difference between Vinegar Creek and Corn Creek. It's just a river. You've got a highway along it right there at Riggins. It's just a challenging river. ... You feel just as part of it at Riggins as you do at Corn Creek. ... we ran out of gas right there at Lucille, we had to hitchhike. A: We were glad we had the highway! D: We were glad we had the highway to hitch hike because we didn't calculate our gas. (Doug and Alicia, 639-657, #22)

D: I think it was a primitive area in my day. There was wilderness, it was primitive area. And we just didn't allow motorized vehicles and that was about it. Everybody took care of it. The rangers lived on the district, so they came out there and they'd ... help clean trail.... I've walked out and walked into Big Creek and Yellow Pine when I was 16 years old. I took horses all the way from Yellow Pine all the way into Cabin Creek. We had signs and ... had breakfast with Johnny Vine. And it was more ... family oriented. ... We took care of the trails in those days. ... Well, it's just too bad those signs were taken down because ... we're not Rambos. We're not designed to be survivalists and that's what I think the Forest Service is wanting to try to teach you in the backcountry.... But I don't believe in that. ... A: Well, the trails aren't even maintained so you don't even know where the trails are back there. D: ... Right now you can't walk from Badley Ranch up to Warren, Idaho, where the Badleys had it, and know where the trail is. ... And me and my daughter rode all the way from ??? River clear down to the Copenhagen. ... The trails aren't marked, ... you don't even know where to cross the rivers at. It's supposed to take us two days, it ended up four days on the trail. I about lost her, the horse rolled on her in the river .... So, she was 12 years old. You know, I want everybody to enjoy it and I think the Forest Service ought to encourage, not discourage, people to use the wilderness. And I don't care if you're from New York or from San Francisco or from Idaho, McCall or Dixie or Elk City or Garden Valley. You ought to be able to go in there and use it and use it the way that you want to use it. No matter who you are. A: I think that was the design of the thinkers who set up this area. That it was to be preserved for the use of everybody. D: You know, that there wouldn't be no roads, but that people could get in and get out and enjoy it... In the old days we had the telephone. It was still primitive and we still had the telephone. We took care of the telephone lines. We took care of it. (Doug and Alicia, 298-343, #23).

A: We flew in one time to Cabin Creek before we had kids. We took Doug's niece with us. And the Forest Service at that time still had the cabins there and actually had a caretaker there. We flew in and we had planned like a weekend so we had taken enough food for the three of us for the weekend. Well the weather changed and we couldn't get out and we ran out of food. And we couldn't catch fish and we couldn't get anything, there just was nothing. And we were getting pretty starved and somebody else was camping there and invited us to have coffee. So we were thrilled to have coffee and cookies. D: It was just a camper, a backpacker. A: I hated to say, "gee are we stupid." But the caretaker that was stationed in there for the Forest service realized that we were hungry and brought us a box of food and offered a place in one of the cabins to stay. D: Well it's supposed to be illegal. A: Yeah it wasn't legal. D: He wasn't supposed to offer us a place to stay. We were supposed to be left out in the cold. And if it wasn't for that man that one night with my young niece and my wife, it was really cold and really rainy. If he wouldn't have offered that to us and we didn't have .. the cabin -. He asked us not to tell. And we told him we wouldn't tell because it wasn't supposed to be, he let us in that night and we stayed that night. And we were so thankful, we were so thankful to him. So it's too bad. And that's all destroyed. ... [The Forest Service] destroyed it. I: Do you remember hearing what their rationale was for that? ... D: I don't know. They really, really wanted to destroy it. They destroyed Dewey Moore's place, they destroyed Johnny Vine's, and they destroyed Cabin Creek. Totally. And they could've left Cabin Creek, it was beautiful. ... the Taylor ranch. and the only reason they haven't destroyed the Taylor Ranch is because it's owned by the state of Idaho, the University of Idaho. A: But their idea was if they didn't have buildings, they wouldn't have people back there. (Doug and Alicia, 421-441, #24)

D: I believe the Forest Service shouldn't be burning all these cabins down. They burned and destroyed Cabin Creek when they should've just left it to the public and if the public destroyed it or the land or the elements destroyed it, fine, but ... the Forest Service destroyed it. And that would've been a nice trailhead for people coming down from Big Creek to able to spend one night if it was raining, been miserable for the last three or four days that could've gotten in some shelter and spare themselves and enjoyed the backcountry. And its going to be our kids won't be able to enjoy it. ... the Forest Service, I believe has destroyed most of the buildings, most of the stuff back there because they don't want the people back there. But in those days, in the '50's and stuff, this is what it was built to be like. The Forest Service shouldn't be destroying what's back there. It should be left open to the public. (Doug, 361-352, #25).

Use Ethic

Use and Access

D: I want everybody to enjoy it and I think the Forest Service ought to encourage, not discourage, people to use the wilderness. And I don't care if you're from New York or from San Francisco or from Idaho .... You ought to be able to go in there ... and use it the way that you want to use it. No matter who you are. A: I think that was the design of the thinkers who set up this area. That it was to be preserved for the use of everybody. D: That there wouldn't be no roads, but that people could get in and get out and enjoy it, period. Whether it be rafting, hiking, or anything. (Doug and Alicia, 330-339, #26)

But now we feel that there are gates and locks and no one's allowed. It's kind of like a lock up area and if you do go in there, you're taking a pretty big risk that you may not be able to come out. Lack of signage, lack of trails. Doug hiked out many, many times and you hiked out about ten years ago and could not believe the difference in twenty years. Like you said, you have to be a Rambo to make it, you really do. It's scary and I don't think a lot of people understand that .... (Alicia, 345-350, #27)

I don't know what [the Forest Service is] going to do with ??'s place but they got it all locked up ... they ought to clean it up and just leave a place for shelter. It's just a shelter. It's like a cave, it's a shelter. What are they going to do, destroy all the caves? Because people need to get out of the weather or the elements. We've got to be Rambo's to enjoy it? (Doug, 455-460, #28)

I don't want anyone to get excluded from enjoying that, jet boaters, pilots, or anybody. Because we have lots of ways to get back there and it would depend on the weather and circumstances and finances as far as how we are but we're very fortunate to have a plane, a boat, we have horses and we're all pretty good hikers. We probably get back there the most of anybody. But I don't want to exclude my children from being able to come home. ... It's very special. We don't' want to be locked out. (Doug, 480-486, #29)

The Forest Service ought to realize that jet boating is one portion of gaining access to the back country and that's just a portion of it. And they ought to let whether you're a rafter that goes clear to Corn Creek and takes their time to come all the way down or a jet boater that just wants to go up twenty miles for a day and come back. That's an access. (Doug, 758-760, #30)

If I was the Forest Service, I wouldn't put a lock on a building back there. It don't belong to the Forest Service, it belongs to the public. ... If the public destroys it, they destroy it. But I'll bet you any amount of money, at the Hood Ranch back at Thomas Creek, they had a building that the public was welcome to. That place is the cleanest cabin on the place because the public took care of it. ... Now the Forest Service has got it all locked up .... So there's no place for a person to go back there and enjoy it. ... It don't belong to the Forest Service, it belongs to the public. ... I don't care if you're a rafter or a kayaker or stuff, you have an ownership in that. (Doug, 382-395, #31)

Shared Use

A: We've had camps of floaters moon us as we went by in the jet boat. D: And they're up on the shore, they're in camp and they just pulled down their pants and mooned us. What were we supposed to do? (Alicia and Doug, 921-926, #32)

And tell them about the etiquette. I mean the etiquette on the river for boaters and floaters, there's a protocol. (Alicia, 877-878, #33)

There's good floaters and bad floaters. There's good jet boaters and there's bad jet boaters and you're going to have them no matter what you do. ... But all in all, I would say that 90% of them are all very good, very respectful... we all make mistakes. There's not a perfect rafting trip, there ain't a perfect jet boat trip, there ain't a perfect forest ranger. If there is, let me know. If there was a perfect contract, one perfect contract we wouldn't have no lawyers. You understand what I'm saying. There's going to be some problems, but the good outweighs the bad. (Doug, 793-803, #34)

Misleading Characterization of the Experience

D: I think the biggest thing is these outfitters and guides advertise back east as a wilderness experience. ... they don't tell the people that there will be ... jet boats on this river .... And I think that's a ... misconception of people back east who want a wilderness experience. ... And I think when they advertise it as wilderness, they should say motorized vehicles are being used on the river. There's a lot of people who want a wilderness experience, but they expect no sounds, no nothing, totally back to nature. This is one real misconception of people who pay $3,000 to take a float trip are being misrepresented and then when they get down on the river, they're getting mad because this is not a real wilderness experience. ... They take it out on the jet boaters, they take it out on the airplanes, I guess. And they do take it out on the jet boaters. I: Do you think that the outfitters and guides themselves are the ones who are perpetuating that kind of misconception ...? D: Everybody, I think. The Forest Service is misleading them. Outfitters and guides definitely are misleading them. (Doug, 851-868, #34)

Forest Service Decision Making

I have not seen any abuse. ... I think the river is as good as it was right now as when I first started going there. I don't see any abuses. (Doug, 778-782, #36)

... they got the regulations in there, it's not too tough, it's not too easy. If that's what they want to do is regulate, the rafters are being regulated, we're being regulated. Leave it alone. If it's not broken, let's not fix it. I don't see anything that's broken. ... Just work with what's there. ... Find out if rafters are being denied. I guess that's what you're doing. (Doug, 841-850, #37)

I guess what I think is the Forest Service spends too much time in the office. I've I talked to Forest Service people here in town that've never been on the river. (Doug, 747-748, #38)

A: We've got some really good ones [Forest Service personnel] down at Corn Creek that help us get the permits over to the Snake and will help us if there's an opening and somebody doesn't show up if it's at a holder, or something that .... D: I think the Forest Service is getting into more of the young and don't realize the risk, the possibility of losing life. And you're going to lose life back there. ... the Shepp Ranch lost their boat two years ago. There's a guy that was ... in a raft came down and drowned. No matter what you do, that river is challenging. That's just part of the nature. (Doug, 750-757, #39)

I don't believe they ought to have this $5 permit. ... if they did this permit, how are they going to enforce it? ... They're going to have to ... buy a jet boat, that's $50,000. Then one guy can't go up in a jet boat by himself so that means two people ... with benefits and everything, drawing close to $50,000 so that's ... a $150,000. And those two people can't work seven days a week ... so they're going to have to end up with two jet boats and four people to enforce it. That's close to $300,000. Why don't they just pay a contractor $25 or $30,000 a year, save the interest on it, 10% and let the contractor ... float down there twice or three times a year and clean up the campsites because what they're worried about. (Doug, 771-775, #40)

Jack, Laura, and 5 Friends

Experience

Initial Motives

... as far as why I got into it was just -- I'd had lake boats before running the rivers and there just wasn't any comparison to running a lake boat compared to running a river. I mean, just the adventure is a heck of a lot more in a jet boat than it is a lake boat. (Jack, 99-100, #1)

Well, I have always liked boats all my life since I was a little kid. But in the mid '70s I got a chance to go up the Snake River with a friend and it was a big jet boat. It was an outfitter boat .... I just fell in love with it right there. ... I was pretty young then and it took me about another eight years or so before I got my own boat and started running the rivers. And then I got to know Matt and Samantha and we did a lot of it together two boats usually. (Ken, 104-109, #2)

We used to have ski boats and everything back ... in the early '70s, and then about the middle of '70s we bought our own boat with the idea that we wanted to go and start a business as an outfitter, and we did. We bought out [outfitter] ... and ... we outfitted for, what, eleven years? And we had the Salmon River and the Snake River in their entirety, the whole works. (Matt, 148-150, #3)

Boating - Respect for River, Skill

... the raft is not as technical to operate as a jet boat. I mean, a raft, you can go over anything you want almost. (Sean, 1271-1275, #4)

I: How does one ... become skilled enough to run the upper Salmon? K: I think first you have to be brave enough... (Ken, 1449-1451)

There's a lot of people that are afraid of it and ... [then] I've seen people that wanted to do it really bad and they weren't afraid of it, but they just didn't have the knack. There's a knack to reading the water and knowing where you can go and how fast and all of this, you know. (Ken, 648-649, #5)

M: It all changes. Every water flow's different. S: It changes every day. M: You have to do everything different, you know. S: The flood will change things, you know, the high water. K: That's where just being able to read the water comes in. (Matt, Sally, and Ken, 1483-1494, #6)

S: You're up there and you're all alone. If you break down -- J: Yeah. S: That scares a lot of people out of it. K: Yeah. You know, that might be part of the mystique about it. If you break down -- it's just she and I and we're in our boat by ourselves. We break down late in the day we're going to be spending the night out there. There's a danger factor there that I don't really like that, especially when I have my kids with me. But it's something that we're willing to do, you know. (Sean, Jack, and Ken, 651-665, #8)

Dimensions

J: Sometimes you go up ... to go smallmouth fishing or sometimes to go steelhead fishing, or maybe to go horn hunting, or maybe just to take a day and -- F: Easter picnic. K: We see the sheep. We like to go up and just camp in the spring time, you know. (Jack, Ken, Undetermined Female, 368-377, #9)

Each and every time you go it's something different. You go up there and if you're fishing when the ice is on the river, there's all the bighorn sheep are down, you know, so you're getting to see that aspect of it. If you go up in the spring time the bears are down. You get to see that. There's just so much different stuff going on. It's all neat. (Matt, 416-422, #10)

K: We haven't done it for a few years, but it's fun just to go up there and look at the -- steelhead fishing might be over and too early for any other kind of fishing, and ... maybe look at some of the old -- what's left of the old homesteads and so forth. (Ken, 381-382, #11)

And it's a family thing with us. We take our children up and we spend a whole week up there, you know, camped, or we just go up for a day ride, fishing, hiking, just the family. (Sally, 111-112, #12)

Regional Outlook

M: What happens here is ... when the Salmon River's high, when the spring runoff happens, most everybody goes in the Snake River. That's what I say, it self-limits itself. Most of us don't have 30 foot twins that we can go up here and run these big rapids and stuff, so we stay off of it. When it comes down, there's not a lot of fish to catch on the Salmon River. Most of us hold off until the steelhead season happens, before they all go back, or we just go up and go for a picnic or something. But you'll -- you know, so you use both rivers about the same amount, don't we? K: Yeah. S: Uh-hmm. (Matt, Ken, and Sally, 591-600, #13)

Salmon Unique Characteristics

Tangible, Physical Features

I: Is there something about the Salmon ... that makes it different from other places? M: Geologically it's different. The water's different, it's not as big as the Snake River, there's trees, because there aren't any on the Snake River. The Snake River's desolate more than the Salmon River is. You don't have the game on the Snake that you have on the Salmon River. There's just a lot of differences. It's not as hot. (Matt, 603-612, #14)

And I think part of the thing with the Salmon River is that it -- it's pretty limited to how many people can actually jet boat up there. You very seldom see a lot of people when you're up there, and ... I don't dislike people, but when I go camping and stuff I don't like to have ten other camps right around me and that kind of thing. (Ken, 638-639, #15)

J: It's just like night and day, you know. There's the best of the day time and there's the best of the night time. It's just two completely separate types of rivers and they're both just as attractive at one time or another. (Jack, 614-616, #16)

Intangible Bonds

I: Does the Salmon ... mean something special, or is it just kind of another -- and you said home. S: It's our home. The Salmon River's our home. J: Well, ... at least in the west, and I've lived in either Oregon or Idaho my entire life, you have ALWAYS, since you were old enough to hear about anything, heard of the River of No Return. S: It has a lot of history. J: I mean, you know, they've made movies about it. It's something that when you hear the Salmon River, River of No Return, it -- bingo. Just a light goes off. So it's got that -- that prestige about it, I guess. (Sally and Jack, 722-732, #17)

S: For us, we're just really comfortable. It's like home. I: Just because of the amount of time you've spent there and the experiences? S: And the feeling, and the feeling. K: Ever since I started coming to the Salmon River -- I lived in McCall all my life and I started coming down here to get away from the snow when I was in high school. ... I really never spent any more whole winters [in McCall] after about 1972. I've always felt like there's something magical about the Salmon River and I can't put it in words other than that. (Sally and Ken, 618-632, #18)

Jet Boats as a Means of Access

It just -- something sucked me in to loving it. That was before I ever rode in a jet boat and the jet boat opened it up to me and let me use it more that way. (Ken, 633-634, #19)

Wilderness

Characterization

M: ... like I was saying earlier, they have no facilities anywhere. ... K: And that's the way I like it. M: Yeah. K: I don't want to see bathrooms everywhere ... I liked Pittsburgh Landing way better before they worked on it than I do now. M: Oh, absolutely. K: They go into the wilderness and they put all this concrete and pavement and all this stuff that doesn't belong there. F: Ruin it. ... K: If they put up an old wooden outhouse every few miles up the river, that would maybe be fine, you know. For the ladies it works a lot better. But this billions of dollars they spend on stuff that we don't want, I don't know where it comes from. I don't know anybody that likes it, even the floaters. ... J: And if you go after all those modern conveniences, you don't go to the Frank Church Wilderness looking for it or the Hells Canyon looking for it, you go to Las Vegas. And so be it. I mean, let's keep the two segregated. (Matt, Ken, Jack, undetermined female, 196-231, #20)

K: Well, and if somebody proposed to build a road up it any farther or down it any farther, I would be up in arms along with most everybody I know. J: Right. K: I mean, we needed a road up there so far and that's happened, years ago was put in. But any more I don't want to see that. (Ken and Jack, 686-695, #21)

I: ... does the fact that ... it goes through a designated wilderness area, does that make more difference one way or the other? K: No. A wilderness area ..., in quotation marks, doesn't mean anything [to me] except that probably we're going to be limited more and more what we can do with it. J: Right. M: If it wasn't designated a wilderness, there wouldn't be ... S: It would be no different. M: Not on the river corridor. ... once you get up on top it might be a different deal. (Ken, Jack, Matt, Sally, 667-683, #22)

J: ... probably the only thing that could change it from being designated a wilderness like it is now is the lawmakers back east would -- or even the lawmakers out here, would decide that they could do more or less as they want. I mean, it -- geologically it just remains the way it is, and if man just kind of leaves it alone it'll stay just fine. (Jack, 686-687, #23)

K: We have this wilderness and everybody is supposed to be able to use it. But they're making it so difficult to use it unless you want to walk from here to Chamberlain Basin. I mean, if you can't fly in and you can't jet boat in then you've got one choice of maybe floating through it. But ... for people that don't have a lot of money that they can spend two weeks in the summer on that river, you can't get in and out of it that quickly any other way. So if we're going to have a wilderness and lock it clear up where nobody can really use it except the rich or the outfitters, then I'm against wilderness. M: It's not worth having. K: And I wouldn't say I'm against wilderness for any other reason. I love it and I want to protect it. But if I can't get in there, you know ... They've even talked about not even being able to use horses sometimes. (Ken and Matt, 321-343, #24)

Awareness of Socio-cultural Presence

M: And you got -- you had a lot of the oldtimers that were still alive that we knew. Buckskin Billy was one of them. I mean, he was there and there's books wrote about the guy. And so I know when I was outfitting we'd take people for just a tour of that thing. We took lots of people up there. ... And you stopped at Polly B. because of Polly, and the Shepp Ranch, and all these different places. So there's a lot of history all over the place. Each and every one of those cricks up there has some significant -- S: Story. M: -- thing that went on. (Matt and Samantha, 734-748, #25)

S: History is important, period. M: Well, and it's kind of our heritage in a way. ... J: And there's a lot of the history that goes along with the Salmon River that, at least in this generation, we even KNEW the people to some extent. And, of course, you're going to lose that a little bit over generations as it goes on. But a lot of the books that are written are talking about people that we've actually talked to. K: Or rode in a boat with. J: Or -- yeah. And that's pretty -- you can really relate to an area that way. M: And if we didn't know them our parents did. (Sally, Matt, Jack, Ken, 757-786, #26)

We've educated our kids about the history of the river taking them up there. Our kids can name each rapid. They can tell you a little bit of history about it. (Sally, 384-386, #27)

We've got friends that live up there at least part of the year now. I've gone up there and met some of the pilot friends I have at the airstrip and just, you know, kind of a picnic on the river and generally enjoying life. (Ken, 395-396, #28)

... the outfitters, they use it for business purposes. (Sally, 1171, #29)

Use Ethic (see also excerpt #24)
So I think there's a lot more important issues from my standpoint, and I guess one of them would be not to overuse it. (Ken, 860, #30).

And I wouldn't want to see a whole bunch more jet boats up there, you know. So I do believe there's room for limits of both floaters and jet boaters ... (Ken, 699-701, #31)

Protecting Access
K: Well, that's happened so many times where they push a little bit and you know the next step is, you're out of here. J: That's right. K: And this is the first push ... on the Salmon River. They're making this push and ... it's sort of like they've let people vent half of their frustrations before the big one and so they don't end up with bombings and stuff. J: ... it's been the same thing in Hells Canyon. (Ken and Jack, 1663-1671, #32)

I think a lot of what happens is a lot of people go on float trips because that's the in thing to do and, I'll admit it, a fun thing to do. But then I think a lot of times the people that are guiding the float trips talk down about jet boating and stuff. And, you know, there's a side to that, I understand. If you're floating down a pristine river and you hear a jet boat coming or something, it may detract from it. (Ken, 1188-1190, #33)

K: But I think ... a lot of the people from the Forest Service, they ride the raft down and they get this negative feeling about jet boats ... Sn: A lot of them have never been in a jet boat. K: Right. And they go back into the office and there's a lot of insiders that are environmentalists, I know that from my line of work and so forth. So I do feel there's misconceptions about it. Jet boaters aren't bad people any more than the rafters are. J: Well, and I think a lot of it too is that the thought behind it is that a rafter in a wilderness area is not polluting the area maybe by noise. I mean, it's just one person floating naturally through the river, where a jet boat -- you know, maybe they've got the idea that there's an oil slick behind it and that type of stuff, and it's not there. (Ken, Sean, and Jack, 1200-1208, #34)

K: Another thing I want to say about rafting is the people act like it's so quiet and everything. But we live right above Time Zone Rapids down here below Riggins. And in the summer we can't sleep in on weekends. S: Constantly squealing. K: People are screaming. And that's -- in a way I hate to say anything because they're having fun, they're enjoying life. But it's really not as quiet as it's touted to be. (Ken and Sally, 1233-1241, #35)

S: And back in the early '60s when I was on the river with my dad when he was jet boating, and he was an outfitter, you never saw floaters. There was jet boats, but you never saw a floater. (Samantha, 1245-1246, #36)

Sa: Or you pull off and wait for them to go by and they moon you when they're going by. I mean, we've had that happen a lot. ... I: I was going to ask you in terms of your -- kind of your experiences that way with the other, you know, floaters in general, what that's been. Has it been that kind of thing? Sa: In the last ten years, but it didn't use to be. Sn: Everybody used to kind of work together. Sa: Yeah, we got along. Sn: If you were coming up a rapid, the rafters would pull over or vice versa or however. (Sally and Sean, 1301-1318, #37)

S: Well, there's so many more rafters, seems like now that they -- like I say, they own it. L: Well, and I think all the hype that's been like on the Snake River with all of the -- you know, they had Rick Baker [Bailey?] over there doing his little trip thing, and then you got jet boaters that were upset because they were being told that they couldn't stay on the river, and then rafters going all the time, and then you get these little arguments going on, and since that time the attitudes have changed to where there is a little more contention in it. (Sean and Laura, 1322-1325, #38)

M: ... we chose to live here and do our thing here -- S: Because of the recreation. M: And now all of a sudden people that are making three times the wage we are controlling what we can do. I: ... So it feels like the locals then are getting shut out? M: Well, we are. ... we all work. And if for some reason that I don't have work to go and I want to take off and go up the river that day and choose to work the weekend, I can't do that, see, if those days are already taken, you're done. S: Well, Matt's self-employed and he works on jet boats and he builds jet boats. Well, pretty soon there's not going to be any jet boats around to work on because they're not going to let them on the river. So it effects our income too. (Matt, and Samantha, 503-536, #39)

... none of us have jobs that you could guarantee you're going to get off the 23rd of July and go fishing or go up the river. It doesn't work that way. And so by the time you get ready to go sometimes it's only a matter of a couple of days when you decide you're going to go, and more than likely all the trips are taken by then. And it's worse now because the Snake River is the same thing. They've got you blocked off on there. (Matt, 950-960, #40)

Sa: Well, it didn't bother us so much because we could go over on the Snake River. We could go over there. Well, now we can't even go over there. ... So we have no rivers to go on in the summer time. ... M: Yeah, they've got days over there that you don't even go. Can't get a permit. And that's the whole thing. (Sally and Matt, 503-515, #41)

Equity in the Distribution of Use

K: And [the permit season] never did really bother me that much, mainly probably because I'm so busy in the summer trying to make a living that I can't get down there very much. I have done it and enjoyed it. And that wasn't too bad, you know, just once in a while having to go get a permit. (Ken, 500-501, #42)

Sn: The privates can't use it in the summer time anyway. ... J: We're already restricted. Sm: You have to put in for a special permit in June [if you want to go in] September. (Sean, Samantha, and Jack, 464-477, #43)

Sa: But even the summer permit, we used to go up at least once a summer to take the kids. And since they did that we have not been up there during the summer. M: It's hard to get a permit in the summer time. Sm: Right, it makes it really very difficult. (Sally, Matt, and Samantha, 942-947, #44)

I never felt like on the Salmon River that there was too many jet boats ever when I was up there, with the exception of once a year the Association all gets together as a club and they all take their boats up there in one day and then they're back. But other than that, I very seldom ever see another [jet] boat except for the outfitter. (Ken, 123-126, #45)

... and in my opinion there's already too many floaters on it. But I don't feel that we've reached the holding capacity for jet boats, and I don't think we ever will, you know, at the rate it's going. (Ken, 701-702, #46)

S: Well when they're rafting they probably think they're the only ones at that certain point. But if you're sitting on the bank you'll see a dozen go by within an hour, and they don't see that. K: That's the problem I have with rafting. You used to be able to go out on this river and have a picnic or fish for all day and never see anybody. But in the summer now, it's like sitting alongside of a freeway, slow moving freeway, and trying to be, you know, maybe kiss your wife or do something that you don't want to be seen by 100 people. And it's a quiet, like a sneaky thing, you know. You don't see them coming. (Sally and Ken, 1214-1223, #47)

J: ... the rafting outfitters ... are restricted now to no more than 30 people in their party. And I have seen the situation where they'll have one boat that has all the camping gear and cooking gear and all that stuff, and they might have 20 or 22 of these duckies going out. And I've seen this myself where you'll put off at a rapid to let a raft go through and it will be a total 20 or 30 minutes of nothing but single, personal duckies going through. K: It does make it hard to run the river in the summer because they want right-of-way basically. S: And it is easier for us to give it to them. K: Well, when you pull off and you can't go because there's just a steady stream of them, pretty soon you just hit the throttle and hope they can handle it. S: Or you pull off and wait for them to go by and they moon you when they're going by. I mean, we've had that happen a lot. (Jack, Ken, and Sally, 1290-1302, #48)

S: ... even on the main Salmon you've got four launches a day, 30 people per launch, and that's just the commercial. That's not counting the privates that go out during the same time. ... K: And we're not saying that you could ever have that may jet boats on the river and have it work out for anybody. But I think that jet boats are getting an extra bad rap compared to what's going on with the rafters. (Sally and Ken, 1408-1418, #49)

Underlying Values Reflected in Management

K: The Forest Service has always been sort of wanting to erase anything that was left from all that history, and I don't think they do so much of it any more. But they used to burn all the cabins and stuff and that -- that's just crazy to me. That's like taking historical documents and burning them. (Ken, 750-752, #50)

J: ... because we're on the law aspect of the Forest Service ... the Forest Service has no right to have law enforcement officers. And there again, it goes back to the point that we put them in the position they're in to take care of the land. And we've got all kinds of cops and all kinds of authority that if somebody does something criminal it's taken care of that way. And for the Forest Service to pack guns just boggles my mind totally. And I just had to say that. K: I'm with you on that. [laughter] (Jack and Ken, 1054-1061, #51)

M: You go to the Snake River now, you have policemen over there, you have Forest Service cops over there, you have all these people that go over there and check you all the time. Sm: Yeah. How can you enjoy yourself when you have all these people breathing down your neck, and just waiting for you to do something wrong? Sn: They did videos one time. M: We got in a big hassle with them over that, Fish and Game. J: Over the 4th of July. They had a hideaway video going on over there. That was about three years ago, four years ago. ... M: We used to go over there and catch a lot of sturgeon and we knew how to do that real well. And got filmed doing this because they thought we were going to steal the sturgeon or something. ... Sm: They thought we were poaching. M: So, you know, whenever they start putting more regulations on a river, everybody gets their hair upon their neck because of that sort of thing. ... All of a sudden when you want to go out there and enjoy what you want to do, somebody's watching you. K: And we're all law abiding people. M: Yeah. K: We're not criminals that just got out of the state penn or something. There's no reason for anybody to be watching us. (Matt, Samantha, Sean, Ken, 967-1043, #52)

... and personally my thought is that the Forest Service has lost the total vision of why we, as the American public, instigated a Forest Service. We wanted an agency to take care of the land for ALL of us, and they're not taking care of it for ALL of us. They're segregating groups and it almost is like they consider this property theirs, and if you go in there you're going onto THEIR property. Well, that's completely wrong. It's MINE. I just hired these people to take care of it. And I think maybe they're losing a little bit of the focus of what that was originally. (Jack, 354-360, #53)

Planning/Decision Making Process

M: I don't understand what this fee's all about, you know. All it's doing is creating a job for somebody. K: And more usage on the river. M: It is. It's not insuring that I'm going to be able to go on the river any more than I am right now. This summer they haven't allotted any more trips. It just costs you $5 more. S: They have a Forest Service employee now that floats the river all the time. M: I know. And it's going to be worse. ... S: ... That irked me seeing the Forest Service down there all the time. I mean, fine, they're monitoring stuff and they're watching stuff. But they're just out having a wonderful summer as far as I'm concerned. And they're being paid to do it. K: You couldn't write a better job. (Matt, Ken, and Sean 242-272, #54)

And I guess ultimately my question is, is was the Forest Service mandated an X amount of dollars to do this survey, or did they want the input? There's a hell of a difference between you have to do this, or you want to do this. [laughter] (Jack, 1562, #55)

I put up with a lot of stuff that the Forest Service comes up with ... in my line of work and everything else. And I usually just take it and say, okay, this is something that needs to be done. But this one issue has really griped me from the beginning ... I never felt like I had a chance to say anything about it ... and like we were saying earlier, that even if you do get a chance to say something, they just do it anyway. We went to one meeting here in town ... it was something to do with the Snake River, one of the limitations they made on that. And I'm sure it was 20 people were against what they were going to do to one person that was for it, in the whole meeting, and there had to be 50 to 100 people at least there from the local area. And when they wrote it up in the paper and stuff, they made it sound like it was kind of an even split ... half wanted it and half didn't, and it just wasn't true. So I think they were just bending the issue to look however they wanted it to. (Ken, 862-861, #56)

J: And as far as managing an area, I mean, you can't show favoritism or manage it in one direction for one group and manage it in a different direction for a different group. You know, outfitters and rafters and private jet boaters have always been looked at in three separate categories, and there's none of them that should use it more or less or be expected to .... K: Or to have priority. J: Yeah, one way or the other. And there's a lot of priority that goes along with the outfitters. K: Yeah. Because it's a money-oriented thing ... they go and they have their big outfitters association that they can fight through and all that, where us private boaters, there is an association for that. I'm not a member of it, but it just seems way smaller in regards to the -- J: Yeah. The one that speaks the loudest gets heard, I guess. [laughter] (Jack and Ken, 875-892, #57)

Stewardship

L: It needs to be cleaned up. Sm: Litter. L: There's litter everywhere. J: Yeah. And a lot of the litter, I think, and even the way that the ground is used, I think needs to come through education. I mean, I would no more than throw a cigarette butt on the ground than fly, but 99 percent of the people that are using it, either by rafters or by outfitters, they come from the cities and stuff, they don't have the second thought about flipping a cigarette down, or litter of any type. To me, the country is too valuable to do that to. K: I don't -- I don't really remember seeing that much litter in the wilderness. Sn: In the wilderness itself. (Laura, Samantha, Ken, Sean, 843-858, #58)

Salmon Self-Limiting

M: And it kind of self-limits itself a lot of the time. When the river gets too high people don't go up there. S: That's right. Matt: When it drops back down you go. The winter time, the thing's froze up. So it governs itself. S: That's true. Ken: In low water a lot of times we don't go up above Mackay Bar because the ??? Rapid is so ... a lot of people still run it, but it's real risky, you know. Kind of the river itself limits how many people go above that point. (Matt, Samantha, and Ken, 423-439, #59)

J: What's that guy that just wrecked his -- .... K: One of those people that's tried to learn. ... Unfortunately his wife was with him and broke her leg really bad in that accident. M: Yeah. That one there cost him a lot of money. K: Well, but see, that's probably two people that won't go back. J: And that's one of the restrictions that the river imposes on itself. The Forest Service doesn't impose that. The natural difficulties of the river itself imposes that by itself. ... S: We've all known people that have died on the river. J: Oh, yeah. (Ken, Matt, Sean, and Jack, 1712-1761, #60)

S: Yeah, they should just back off and leave us alone because, like they say, the river's going to govern the jet boaters. K: To a point. ... I don't think all these people would agree with me, but I think you're going to have to limit the usage eventually, because everywhere I go -- S: Eventually, yeah, but not now. (Samantha and Ken, 1625-1632, #61)

Club Membership

Political

We pay our dues every single year, we support them in every effort as far as what they're trying to do to keep wilderness a wilderness or rivers open. But going to dinners and banquets and that type of stuff with the association, we don't do that. ... we ... support it simply because an organization seems to get a little bit more done individuals, on an individual basis. (Jack, 1101-1121, #62)

Service

L: And there's also education. They have two or three days a year where they teach just the women how to unload the boats, drive the boats, you know, do the safety ... on there too. J: Right. ... And there's -- also like as a member of the Whitewater Association we're also able to join the Life Flight program at a very reduced rate. It's like 50 bucks per year per family. So, I mean, they can get more benefits as a group at a lower cost as well. (Laura and Jack, 1147-1157, #63)

Safety

Learning

I: .. what's the process by which you kind of become an apprentice or become skilled enough to run the upper Salmon? K: ... most people will either try to get somebody to take them up in their boat or a practice that's always been done is you follow somebody up that knows what they're doing. And I tried that and didn't have any luck at all with that. So I just had somebody take me up and showed me certain places that were tricky. And then they get out and you go up and just do the best you can, you know, and start learning. ... J: Repetitious. That's the only way you can learn it, the only way I can learn it anyway because I'm not smart enough to catch on the first time and remember it forever. So it's just repetitious. K: And if you can try to learn a little bit of it at a time it's better, you know, than trying to run 60 miles of it or something. (Ken and Jack, 1449-1477, #64)

I: In terms of getting skilled on the Salmon or any other river for that matter, can you automatically take that experience on the Salmon or the Snake and go and successfully boat on other rivers? ... K: You have to learn to read the water. J: You've got to know how to read water. K: I think once you have that aspect of it you could probably go pretty much anywhere. J: Yeah, I think so too. (Ken and Jack, 1497-1506, #65)

Jason and Cathy

Personal History

I started at about twelve. Actually it wasn't a jet boat. It was a prop boat because I didn't have a jet boat yet. But I ... was raised -- I could throw a rock from the house and hit the river, so I'd get off the school bus and I'd go down Salmon fishing. So I started running, not the whole river, but I'd run a good ten mile stretch right here by Whitebird when I was about twelve to thirteen, in that area. My dad, ... he couldn't swim, and he loved to fish, but he didn't want anything much to do with the boat. So he had [name] here teach me to run the boat, which was an old River Runner, so I could take him fishing. (Jason, 264-282, #1)

I taught, ... a lot of the people that runs the river around here I taught. (Jason, 303, #2)

I spent twenty years camping up there at least a week to two weeks up the big Salmon up in the Frank Church, and that's the one trip that we really enjoy. (Jason, 341, #3)

When we got married we had a jet boat wedding. It was mid-December and ice was floating and she was nervous that we would have to do something different. I went down and there was too much ice. There was no way ... And I ran down about an hour later, a little bit less and a little bit less. When we went down I had to miss a lot of ice and, but we went down on the beach that we wanted to get married on and this boat out here went. The guy owned it, ran it, and we had the wedding party in there, and we had two jet boats and we got married [inaudible] icy weather on the river. (Jason, 1718-1724, #4)

Salmon Unique Characteristics

It's my home. I was raised on it. I live here because I can't afford a place down there. But if we had -- either one of us had our wishes we'd live right on the river down there. J: And, no, I just love that river. (Jason, 520-527, #5)

I: So then it sounds like the Salmon itself has some special meaning to you? J: Yeah. It's home. ... I've used it to jet boat, to chukkar hunt, to deer hunt, I've used it to elk hunt, fish, swim, water ski, just about anything you can do. (Jason, 535-542, #6)

I: So does the Salmon itself have then some special meaning to you above and beyond, say, other rivers? C: Not really. I mean, I enjoy the Snake too. It's, like I say, ... to me it's the outing and being able to have that freedom to do it. (Cathy, 147-152, #7)

I: Is there something about the Salmon that sets it apart from other places? J: Yeah, it's cleaner. I mean, it's a clean river. ... and it's -- the Snake, you know, is so much dirtier. The water's dirtier, it has a odor to it from being held up in the reservoirs, and let me put it this way, when I get out of the Salmon River from going swimming I don't [inaudible] take a shower, but the Snake River I feel I need to. (Jason, 516-528, #8)

Snake River you've got volume. Here you've got rocks. (Jason, 1641-1642, #9)

J: And so when you order boats, the perfect boat ... for the Salmon is not the perfect boat for the Snake, vice versa. You have to really know what your main river that you're going to run, and that's what you buy. ... Like people buy steering wheels. Steering wheels belong in the lake. I had a stick. I had 18 inches from full left to full right. ... How long does it take to move 9 inches. I missed so many rocks that I would have hit with a steering wheel because 9 inches I had full throttle. But then Bill Fisk, one of the best river runners in the country, he likes steering wheels. But he has his like a race car. It won't even make a full turn. It's got a real fast rack and pinion and he likes that because he likes to water ski .... (Jason, 1659-1678, #10)

I don't run Ludwig too often. I've run it four times. Three times successfully. [laughter] Ludwig -- the bad thing about Ludwig ... you go up -- from Vinegar Creek to Ludwig, if you break an engine down or anything you can get help to go up and get you. ... 90 % of the people turn around at Ludwig. So you get above there and you break down, you're in trouble. ... If you blow an engine, whatever, you're in a whole bunch of trouble, where down below you can tow your boat out or get help in. (Jason, 454-464, #11)

Regional Outlook

J: I went more in the winter than I do the summer. I: No kidding? Did fishing more in the winter? J: Oh, steelhead's the best and the sheep are best. And less traffic on the river and that's what I like. But, no, I ran a lot more in the winter. Summer time, July and August, I probably ran the least because it's hot, the steelhead's not here. But then that's when I usually like to go to Snake River catfishing and sturgeon fishing. (Jason, 736-754, #12)

Experience

Boating - Respect for River, Skill

Because that river has got a lot of power and when it gets you down it stomps on you and it stomps on you fast. (Jason, 1366, #13)

C: I've even seen him a lot of times pull over ... and get out of the boat and walk around and look it all over before he ever attempts to -- J: Even though I've ran that rapid for 20 years -- C: Every year it changes. J: Rocks roll in, rocks roll out. And if I pull up there and something don't look right, there's nothing wrong -- I'd rather go to shore and think about it for a little bit than in the middle of a rapid think about it. J: And it's just something that you have to do. (Cathy and Jason, 1378-1395, #14)

... it's just two different rivers. When I run it it's around 4,000 feet or less. It's a rock patch so you have to know the channels and how to read the rocks. That's one experience. The big water, to know where to run - ... the last time we was up there, my boat, I got in trouble in Dried Meat. ... it started raining and it rained all week. The river raised three feet. Well, ... I'd never been up there at that level. All the years running it I waited until low levels. And there was two rocks in between and there was a dip in the middle you could see. [But this time] you couldn't see the dip. J: So I went up there and I didn't hit a rock, but the river -- I tired out. I washed out and I made it. Well, I didn't realize it but I found out from the people that run it all the time, when you can't see the dip, you sneak the left bank. You go to the side. I learned from -- I had a bad experience so I started asking questions. Hey, I had an error here. It turned out good because I drove my boat back out of it. From experience I knew how to get out of a problem once you got into it. But I'd never been up there with that volume of water before. But it's -- every level is different. (Jason, 1313-1350, #15)

You have to learn to read the water, have to understand why it's white, and how to go through it. It's more of a thrill because the only way to keep from hitting a rock in the river is to stay out. Sooner or later you're going to foul up and hit a rock. [laughter] So it's a challenge. (Jason, 329-335, #16)

C: And [as Jason] was saying [a little while ago] when he powered out ..., it was my weight that was in the back and this other guy, and I took that guy and I shoved him up front and I went up front just over the top. J: She knew what I needed and that made me plane out. I: So it sounds ... like even the passengers play a role. C: I think they do. J: It helps. Now if you've got a commercial and had a bunch of people that have never been in a jet boat before, they could have panicked and did the wrong thing, went the wrong way. (Cathy and Jason, 1581-1590, #17)

So whenever I was younger I had to go up through those rapids for the thrill to do it. As I got older, ... the problems I see that you can have along the way you learn just don't do it unless you need to. (Jason, 467-469, #18)

Access

I: ... what initially attracted you to jet boating? J: Just fishing. Our whole family's been into fishing, and camping. That's our way of travel around here if you're going to go up and down the canyon. (Jason, 315-319, #19)

J: I sold my boat... [So this year] we four wheeled in the snow. We went in the [inaudible] and we stayed on the river. C: It was wonderful. ... and it snowed about 20 inches while we was in there ... C: Yeah, it wasn't near as thrilling [as being in a] boat and being able to drift down. ... and fish and see the sheep. We were in a spot we couldn't see the sheep. So it was different this year. I: So you felt -- without having the boat you felt like maybe you were a little bit more limited? J: Oh, yeah, totally because you only have a half a mile of river that you can get on, period.... We didn't get to see any sheep this time ... C: It's raining. There was nothing to do but sit in the tent. In a boat, you can get in the boat and get under the top and -- J: Fish. C: -- go look at the river and drift fish. (Jason and Cathy, 400-431, #20)

C: We've hiked on a few of the trails, but not -- I couldn't honestly say that's one of our main deals. I've got a really bad knee so I'm limited. I: Would that be then a reason why, partly why you enjoy jet boating, .. having a bad knee, it allows you to get into some places maybe? C: Oh, yeah. If you don't have a horse, you can't walk it, how do you get there, you know? ... you can't get on a four wheeler ... because they don't allow it, or a Snow Cat. So in order to see this country you have to get there the best you can. (Cathy, 198-211, #21)

But what I felt bad is that they don't want the jet boats on up there because the float deal. Well, at that time my mother was still alive and she was 78 years old and she would have loved going up there. Well, she couldn't go up there and she couldn't set in a raft for days to come down. So they were discriminating against senior citizens and stuff like that, you know. I felt that they should have the right to go up there as well as anybody else. (Jason, 583-587, #22)

J: We used to sit here of a morning and not doing anything - let's get in the boat and go catch some catfish. See, you can't do it any more. You got to have a permit clear back in March for the summer time. That's one reason I don't have a boat. ... When you live here you shouldn't have to plan a vacation ... in March, what day you want to go fishing in July or August. C: Well, you got to go by the weather, a little bit ... J: ... and then ... have to work, you know. You never know. (Jason and Cathy, 755-780, #23)

J: As a working man, I used to use my boat for relaxation. And we'd get up Saturday morning and if we didn't have something going we'd go down the river to go fishing for a couple hours, all day, whatever we had time. I don't have time to fill out a permit and -- I mean, that's like going on vacation. ... C: Fill out a permit and that day you get up and it's the worst weather, you've got junk floating in the river. You can't take your boat in that. (Jason and Cathy, 1710-1716, #24)

... this permitting thing. I mean, if I can't go to the Snake River and go catch a catfish in July and August like

I always have in my whole life -- probably since I was seven years old, last year was the first time in my life I didn't go there fishing, and I didn't do it because I'll get in trouble. ... I mean, it's stupid. And it's the first time in my life. ... we raise a little garden ... We used to always have an annual -- we'd go to the Snake River, catch trout and bass and catfish, come back and get everything out of our garden and that was our meal. We did that once a year, just go do it, off a whim. And it was fun and there was nothing wrong with that, [but] to have to have a permit [to go] over there in March ... And now ... what they've got the $5 fee to go up to Vinegar Creek. I bet you it's not five years you'll have to have a permit year round to go up there. (Jason, 1771-1781, #25)

Non-Boating Dimensions of Experience

I: For you, what's the part that you like the best about it? ... C: I don't -- just the view. I mean, you don't see it unless you're in a boat. C: I don't know. I enjoy just fishing without a whole bunch of people around. The whole thing is just remarkable. The river itself is quite remarkable. I: What is it about the river then, if you could describe, what is it that makes it unique and special? C: [laughter] I don't know. What makes the ocean so great? I don't know. It's just the whole thrill of the rapids and just the scenery, the -- you know, you see the sheep and just everything is just -- it's -- I don't know. I don't think there is just one thing. (Cathy, 49-69, #26)

I: ... what initially attracted you to jet boating? J: Just fishing. Our whole family's already been into fishing, and camping. (Jason, 315-318, #27)

Pretty well a jet boater's out there for the same thing. You'll see it's the family thing. You take the kids and the kids will swim and Dad will fish.... Just like me, I would never race. They tried to get me to race the river down there and I said no. I have no reason to race through this, you know. I'd rather go up there slow and look. (Jason, 1061-1067, #28)

I: When you take a jet boat trip up the Salmon, do you go up for the same thing every time or is it ... different reasons at different times? J: Different reasons, yeah. ... But the one thing -- my favorite animal is the wild sheep. There's that picture [showing interviewer picture]. That's one that we took up there and have taken several up there. But I love -- that's my favorite animal. So I used to go up there and I hunt them with a camera. I've never even applied for a permit to shoot one. I just love to go and watch them, especially in November when they start banging heads. ... You darn near see a sheep every time you go up there. (Jason, 338-362, #29)

... Cathy, I said, you know, I'm going to miss the boat but dammit -- I used to ... go down there with stress from my work or whatever and I'd just relax and just the river flowed and I just enjoyed it. [But more recently] I'd come back even more so damn mad that I can't see straight and it didn't work. ... The only thing I can say is thank God I got to do it before all these people screwed it up, and now it's screwed up big time. (Jason, 1791-1796, #30)

You know, you're up there camping to get away. I worked with the public, working for the power company all day long. ... [But recently] I had more hassling up there than I did work. So what'd I go for? (Jason, 1966-1969, #31)

Wilderness

Characterization

I: Does the fact that the Salmon runs through a wilderness area up there, does that seem to make it any different ... Do you think about it differently? C: I don't think so, huh-uh. No, because we see all kinds of horseback riders packing, people walking, other boaters, floaters. I don't think I really think of it as a wilderness. A thrill, you know, of being in this wilderness area, I don't. (Cathy, 127-139, #32)

I: Does the fact that the Salmon runs through a wilderness up there, does that make a difference to you when you're up there? J: No. (Jason, 578-581, #33)

J: And that's -- but the part of the wilderness, I'm glad they didn't build a road back there, you know. ... I'd rather go up there and jet boat than I would from here to Riggins. ... it's the same water, the same river. And I've ran Riggins a lot of times but I just, you know, it just -- I'd rather go down, you know, [inaudible river name] River with no road or I'd rather go above Vinegar Creek. (Jason, 602-611, #34)

We do need some places to -- that -- that's not populated. (Jason, 643, #35)

Awareness of Socio-cultural Presence

Well, for one thing I've been on the river so many years that I know the creeks and I know who homesteaded there and the history of the river, and ... it hasn't changed that much, you know. I mean, in the winter time when the floaters aren't there. (Jason, 439-441, #36)

The south fork of the Salmon runs in there. And up the south fork there's a place, a big flat called Copenhagen. It's where ... it was a part of the Nez Perce Tribe and we camped there and they were the sheep eaters ... but anyway, it's a beautiful flat and ... there's about five private parcels of property. Well, one guy had a log house there. He has never -- he's always -- hired somebody or called air service for somebody to fly him in there or somebody boat him.... (Jason, 1428-1432, #37)

... my cousin runs the Mackay Bar Lodge, so we go and visit him. (Jason, 367, #38)

Use Ethic

Shared Use

I: If you were given the job of managing that area of the Salmon and in the wilderness there, what issues do you think would be important to focus on? ... C: ... it would be great to me to open some of it up and let people enjoy it. that's what it's there for. What's the sense of having it if you can't enjoy it? And don't mean to abuse it, but there's got to be some way that people could enjoy it that can't walk it or they don't have a jet boat, you know, or a horse. (Cathy, 213-226, #39)

Of course, I have to admit that we have more people now that we didn't have, the floaters. I mean, usually you'd see a few floaters. Now all these people found our whitewater and they started to use it. (Jason, 1206-1208, #40)

... there was no reason that we couldn't have used the river together. There's plenty of room on the river. (Jason, 858-859, #41)

... we used to see floaters, wave at them. And instead of people shoving from Whitebird [having to] shuttle cars to [inaudible] and float down that stretch of river, I don't know how many times ... we used to load the rafts on the jet boats to haul them back up so they could do it again. (Jason, 635-636, #42)

J: Like Mackay Bar Resort, the Shepp Ranch, all the commercial jet boat outfits, I've never seen such friendly people ... They -- but they live there. They don't just float down the river a few times a year and float by. They own real estate there and they make a living there. But also, I can pull in and have a cup of coffee at any one of the places or like - we was down there one day ... in November ... [a] boat was sunk. And the Shepp Ranch [boat] ... run ahead of me. We went down through the rapid and we both turned around and go back to help to see if anybody was hurt, and he wasn't. But these people needed to get out of there, it was cold and wet. And we was probably fifteen miles up the river from Vinegar Creek. And Mike from the Shepp Ranch, he said, I got a full load of paying customers here. He said, I'm either going to have to take them out and come back, or could you haul these people out? I said, sure will, Mike, you know. But we've always worked together. And I've never had any problem with that. (Jason, 900-920, #43)

C: I know in the last few years that we boated in the summer time it was just impossible, because of the floaters, to even enjoy the river. I: Just too many people? Or because of their attitudes? C: It just -- their attitude. The outfitters, they are plum snotty. They get like, why are you on the river? And, frankly, they take up all the dock space so you can't even -- ... it's a hassle. (Cathy, 156-164, #44)

J: The experience we had last summer with the rude floaters. When I left the river I was so durn mad I didn't enjoy myself. I don't go up there to fight and to be bullied around. I go up there to enjoy. C: We were on the beach. J: Just the jet boat setting there. C: Both of us. J: Eating lunch. We wasn't even camped there. C: And here come all the floaters in -- J: And then he said, we sure hope you're not staying here because we are. C: We are. J: And started throwing their stuff out. ... They was totally rude. (Jason and Cathy, 759-819, #45)

J: And they'd [a group a jet boaters] been rude all day. But besides that, they -- you have your river rules, you know. You take Mackay Bar, Shepp Ranch, whatever, and they have fifteen, twenty people in this big boat and they're coming in and it's 4:00 in the evening. It gets dark about 5:00. So they've got to get these people unloaded so they can go about their way and get back to the ranch because they don't have any headlights. So it's always been a rule of thumb if you come down and they're there - go over across the river and fish, give them fifteen minutes to get out of the way and whatever. ... These guys from Boise actually passed the Shepp Ranch boat to beat them in, they wanted to get their boat in the trailer first and get out of there. And here was Shepp Ranch sitting out here then waiting and worried about time. You just don't do it. (Jason, 949-958, #46)

J: What I have found is commercial is the worst. The University of Idaho had a group and they was terrible. They were very environmental. They was wanting us off the river. You find privates that are usually pretty friendly and not much problem. (Jason, 841-845, #47)

I: Do you notice whether or not that's predominantly the guided floating trips or the private trips or both? C: The guided. The private, the people who are just out there having a good day like we are, usually they'll wave, they'll stop and talk to you. It's the guided. I: Do you have any idea why there's that difference? ... C: I don't know. Other than I think that their big selling probably is that this is -- it's quiet ... and then they run into jet boaters and we're ruining that outing for them, I guess. I don't know. I've never really asked, you know, talked. I just know that they do. They don't -- just not sociable people. (Cathy, 156-187, #48)

I've never had any problems with floaters. Like I said, the few rude and the reason why that is is because they're wanting the river for themselves. I mean they're selfish people. It wasn't the floaters in general. ... I'm actually saying the outfitters caused most of it. And they lobbied with the Forest Service and got the Forest Service backing them and they started the whole thing. (Jason, 1742-1750, #49)

I: Do you have a feeling why it is maybe that the commercial groups -- why it is that there's that much bad feelings and so forth? J: Yeah, I had one of them tell me in 1976. I won't say his name. But he told me ... one of these days you'll pay me to go on the Salmon River. I said, over your dead body. ... So what they're doing, they're taking our natural resources and they're selling them. They're making a profit from them and stopping people like me from enjoying the natural resources without me paying for it. And that's what they want. (Jason, 871-890, #50)

Scope of Management

I: If you were ... give[n] a chance to manage this area ... what would be the issues that you would choose to focus on... ? J: The first thing, I'd kick the Forest Service totally off of it. [laughter] ... And then that would be the end of the problem. It don't need managed. ... it was doing just fine until people started managing it and then all of a sudden special groups lobbies a little harder than other groups, has more money, has more time, and then the problems started .., and then there started being a problem. Before the Forest Service ... used to sell timber and manage timber and they had something to do. And now that they don't sell timber anymore or -- and have timber sales, they want to manage people. And so they created theirself a job by managing people... (Jason, 616-635, #51)

I bet you it's not five years you'll have to have a permit year round to go up there. It's just what they're after. It's just another way to control people. (Jason, 1781-1783, #52)

But I feel that the Forest Service and BLM have done a terrible job. And just because they make all these rules to make jobs. And I know they have. Most definitely they have, because there's no reason for most of them.

(Jason, 644-654, #53)

J: The other thing is starting to come up and down the river worrying about fire pans. Worried about fire pans and little things like that, you know. They should be cleaning up the banks. If they want a job, that's what they should be doing. They should be working. They don't want to work. They want to go up and regulate people, control people. But ... if they want to manage the river, they should manage it and clean up things like that, improve the boat ramps. (Jason, 1215-1228, #54)

... I feel that jet boats have never hurt anything on the river. I've hauled out so much garbage and trash that was left by campers. And for instance, you take a float party, every boat is full. I mean, they're sitting in there and they don't have much room, and they're in there for days. ... they pick up garbage, but there's a whole bunch of garbage to haul out. They ... can't -- they don't have room, where a jet boat we had room and we took it out. (Jason, 593-598, #55)

... and there was no man could ever find where I camped. When I leave a camp you can't see where I camped. (Jason, 1895-1907, #56)

Lack of Sound Rationale for Current Management Actions

Of course, I have to admit that we have more people now that we didn't have, the floaters. I mean, usually you'd see a few floaters, you know. Now all these people found our whitewater and they started to use it. And that's when the Forest Service took out the facilities. (Jason, 1206-1209, #57)

... there used to be outhouses, toilets up above Vinegar Creek. Now they took them all out because they decided it wasn't natural. ... [Now] you go find a big rock ... [never] seen so much toilet paper and crap in all my life. It's just sickening. And the Forest Service did it by taking the toilets out because they -- you know, they've got the pack it out policy? (Jason, 653-657, #58)

J: And I've heard ... the float groups, they have their canister and so forth. Just at Sheep Creek one day I was curious and ... and I seen them all pull in. And I kept seeing all these people go out behind these big rocks. So the next day I went up there and sure enough, it was terrible, and it was the floaters, and it was an outfitter. ... But the deal is, even though they're with an outfitter, sure, what they'll tell you is, well, we told our people they have to, but we can't control them all the time. And instead of them going to use the canisters, they were going up to the bushes or behind the rock. There used to be an outhouse right there at that spot. And, you know, they wouldn't have had that mess. ... that's one of my biggest complaints ... and I've brought that up time and time again to them. And they kept saying, well, we've got to pack it in, pack it out. Good story. I: Yeah, okay. So that's just -- from your experiences up there, that philosophy with regard to at least toilets is unreasonable. J: Totally. (Jason, 1250-1269, #59)

Oh, they've done some stupid things. The other thing that just totally fried me is we started losing our mountain sheep up there a few years back from disease. The University of Idaho needed a carcass when it was still warm to run tests on it. So they wanted to fly a helicopter in and load a sheep and get it out. They couldn't do it because it was wilderness. They couldn't get through the red tape to land a helicopter there, so we're losing our sheep because somebody's stupid idea -- I mean, how much harm would it hurt to land a helicopter, load a sheep in it, and haul it out to save our sheep. (Jason, 707-712, #60)

Failure to Build Constructive Relationships

I feel they made the rules on the river years ago. The book was sealed and put in cellophane. I went to all these meetings that they have on the river. They already knew what they was going to do and they would just give us a pacifier by the meetings. ... they didn't listen to a damn thing. I went to every meeting I could trying to stop this regulation of the river. And they'd ask a question that would be answered to what they wanted to hear .... If you brought up a question that they didn't want to hear the answer, you were smoothed over pretty fast. (Jason, 1089-1096, #61)

It's a bunch of environmentalists and the people that makes those decisions -- here's the sad part about the

Forest Service. Most of the decisions are made in Washington, D.C., or back east. The people making those decisions have never seen Pittsburgh Landing, Vinegar Creek, and whatever, and that is one of the major [problems]. I: Ok. So even just getting some of those decision makers to float down or to jet boat -- J: Or let local people make them. They got people here qualified to do it. (Jason, 2036-2044, #62)

J: Or the worse thing about it, the local folk, they may have been here local for five years. ... you'd have to live here five years before you could boat, if I had my way, just to learn how the lay of land is. ... the same way with the people working in the Forest Service. They come in here, they get promoted in or move in, transferred in. They haven't a clue. They've lived here six months. Oh, this is beautiful. Well, let's fix this, let's fix this. Why the hell fix it if it's not broke. ... If we wanted to change we would have changed it years ago, the people that lived here, you know. (Jason, 2059-2077, #63)

He was a ranger at the ... Ranger Station. And I thought he was a river friend ... I talked to [him] a lot. ... I shot trap with him. All of a sudden a friend of mine that's a surveyor said that they'd surveyed at Mackay Bar Lodge and the lodge was actually setting on Forest Service property. So they did a land trade and they did a good trade deal, except the road to go up the South Fork of the Salmon, the land no longer belonged to Mackay Bar Lodge. So I call up [the ranger] and I said, ... we jet boat up there and hike up there and hunt up there and everything else. He said, no, Jason. He said, we wouldn't do that to you. He said, we're going to trade them that piece of land, but then we're going to build a nice trail so you can pull your boat in and go right up there. He lied. They never built a trail. Not only did they not build a trial, Mackay Bar can't even let somebody go up through there now because the Forest Service said that's part of the deal. Can't let them even go up through there. ... So I don't have much respect. (Jason, 1103-1139, #64)

And the fire pan's a stupid thing too, but I played their games. The whole problem I had at first is they couldn't get their facts together. I called up the first year that I got a warning for no fire pan. I hadn't heard about it. So I called up [the ranger] down here. He was in charge of the Salmon River, so who else would you call? And he told me if I laid down ... five layers of tin foil then I could just roll it all together and that'd be adequate. And I did that, but their little Forest Service cop didn't agree with that when he come by. But his boss told me, so I could have told him where to kiss off. And so we did what they wanted. We built this damn fire pan. We had 30 pounds -- that's something in a jet boat, weight's a problem -- 30 pounds .... (Jason, 1895-1906, #65)

Also the other thing that really bugs me about them is be setting in my camp enjoying the river running by, and here come the jet boat pulling with the Forest Service and the Fish and Game. They both pack pistols into my camp like I'm a criminal. (Jason, 1143-1144, #66)

J: They want to go around and -- C: Check and see if you caught any fish that you're going to eat in camp. J: I don't mind that. What she's talking about, Fish and Game, and the guy was good, but, ... this is something that's kind of silly too. It's always a family dream to take your children out and go fishing and cook your trout or whatever. You know it's illegal? ... It says right in the rules you can't have -- you cannot harvest -- you cannot fillet a fish. You have to leave it whole. ... Well, I had it chopped up for supper. Legally you can't do that. Now, he didn't give us a ticket. He said, I know ... you were up here fishing. You should be able to eat this fish ... Legally you cannot -- you can't -- in a field, you can't have it dressed in the field. Well, a tent, I figured was not. But no, that's not true. You don't pay tax on it, it's the field. And that's how he -- you know, and he was nice. But just bringing it up disturbed you. (Jason and Cathy, 1928-1960, #67)

... oh, I do have to say a good thing about the Forest Service. I haven't done that so -- We used to have a lot of trouble in the Snake River. You couldn't get in and out of that river because the floaters would just totally cut off the ramp and there was just a fight every time you come in. They did ban that a few years ago and now they have a float pad and they make them keep a lane of traffic for jet boats. And that was a real plus over there .... (Jason, 1293-1301, #68)

The problem I've seen on the river ... and I don't know how it started, but the floater against the jet boat. But people didn't realize that it actually was river users against the Forest Service, is what it should be, because ...

they was using us back and forth. Now the floaters are getting jumped on pretty bad and permits cutting down every year and whatever. And they're looking around like what happened? Well, they started it but the Forest Service used them as a scapegoat, you know. My feeling is everybody wanted to use the river and, like I said, until they started being managed we never had any problem. Then all of a sudden somebody would say, let's make this rule. Well, then the floater didn't like it or the jet boater didn't like it. ... there was no reason that we couldn't have used the river together. There's plenty of room on the river. (Jason, 850-859, #69)

Club Membership

When you originally joined that club, what was your reason for joining? ... J: Yeah, to meet new jet boaters, new people. J: Because they jet boat up -- see, all these jet boats come up from Lewiston. ... And I just don't know ... you can't take me up and down the river here that I don't know 99 percent of the people and the boat just by seeing it I know who they are. So I see these boats on the Snake River and thought I should meet them. So I joined the club. And also at that time I felt it was -- maybe we should organize and get together and see what's going wrong. We wanted it -- they're putting more permit pressure on us every year (Jason, 1015-1038, #70).

Safety

Learning

Before I teach anybody to run the upper river up there, I make them ride up and back with me [inaudible] their boat at least twice. ... The five major rapids, I let them go up the river, then I run it back down, then they go up, because you can always read going up. And then after the do that four or five times, then I let them ... Basically they have to go up that river with me eight times before I'll let them solo. (Jason, 1399-1409, #71)

I: ... you kind of talked about this a little bit, but does having experience on the Snake ..., does that mean that a person can go and then run the Salmon or run the other river automatically? J: No. (Jason, 1600-1601, #72).

Daniel

Salmon Unique Characteristics

I've jet boated quite a few -- you know, I haven't been all over the world, but I've been quite a few different places. And there's no place in the world that's more beautiful than that upper Salmon, no place. It's a beautiful, unique river. And it's a good whitewater river, and it's a good power boat river. (Daniel, 951-957, #1)

It's got it's own unique beauty, it's a beautiful river, it's a pretty darn challenging jet boat river. When the water level is up in early summer flows, ... besides being beautiful, it's a river that a lot of people can jet boat on. It doesn't require a real high level of skill, but it requires ... a fair level of skill to successfully do it. ... as the water drops ... it gets tough. And there are few people that do it and do it well .... There are some jet boat outfitters up there that are very good.... And there are a few privates that do it, not too many. You can take a jet boat to Mackay Bar or Ludwig on most water flow. But above Ludwig ... it changes. Ludwig is a pretty challenging rapid in medium to ... lower water flows. And coming down the river ... below Corn Creek, there's several rapids down there that are pretty challenging. Get down to Salmon Falls, Salmon Falls is fairly challenging in low water. (Daniel, 415-434, #2)

I: So it sounds like the Salmon itself has special meaning to you? D: Absolutely. No other place in the world like it. I: Is that because, again, partly because of the scenery -- D: Uh-huh. I: -- the challenge of getting up there?. D: And getting back. I: And getting back? D: And getting back, yeah. (Daniel, 479-498, #3)

There are some common experiences [between the Snake and the Salmon]. But the two rivers are a little bit different... The Snake ... doesn't require the technical running that the Salmon does so far as low water and rocks. But the Salmon doesn't have the ... big whitewater rapids ... or the big water that the upper Snake has got.... And there are people that are good on that upper Salmon and they squirm around through that rocks and do ... well. But the big rapids over in Hells Canyon intimidate them. And there are people that can run the big rapids in Hells Canyon, but that rocky technical water intimidates them.... there are some water flows when the, you know, the Snake's about the easiest, and there are some water flows that the Salmon's about the easiest. (Daniel, 893-913, #4)

Personal History

[My Dad] was an old rancher and worked on a ranch out at Whitebird all of his life, seven days a week, you know, and took 2 or 3 days off a year and ended up selling the ranch and retiring when he was about 65... And he and my mother built a place down by Whitebird. ... and they didn't have the place quite finished and she had a heart attack and died. So he was after that point, was kind of a little bit at loose ends. And he went up and he worked for the Shepp Ranch for several years, for ... the Shepp Ranch.... he was really a good hand with stock, with mules and horses and pack stock. And he packed for Paul and he guided for him a little bit, not too much but some. And their main access into the Shepp Ranch was by jet boat. And they had an outboard jet boat at that time and he kind of got acquainted with those jet boats and really, really enjoyed it a lot. And that created a spark in him that he decided he wanted one and he was financially in a position where he could do what he wanted. (Daniel, 99-115, #5)

I built a boat for my dad when he was alive in 1972. He was 72 years old at the time and decided he wanted a jet boat. And I told him he was -- was too old .... [laughter] It made him mad. He informed me that I was either going to build him a jet boat or somebody else was. So I decided to build it. If I was going to build him one, I'd build it tough enough so that he wouldn't sink it, because he wasn't a real good driver on the highway... But he did amazingly well and he loved that boat. He enjoyed it. He used it until he died in 1978. He was 78 years old at that time and thinking back on it now, ... I think it would have been a major mistake for me not to have built him one. We ended up getting to do some things together ... and had some times together and some trips together that we never would have had otherwise.... (Daniel, 77-98, #6)

... that same boat's still in the family. My brother owns it now. In 1997 that boat was 25 years old. Our kids learned to drive on it. But in 1997 [my brother] took that boat from Lewiston to Hells Canyon Dam. He took it to Corn Creek. He ... and I took it up the Clearwater. We took it up the Selway to Selway Falls. Then we took it up the Lochsa about 17 or 18 miles and we got in trouble up there because you're not supposed to have jet boats up there. We didn't know it at the time.... And also in 1997 we took four boats up the north fork of the Clearwater to Kelly Fork Ranger Station. And ... they were the first and only boats that ever gone to Kelly Forks Ranger Station.... He also took that boat up the Grand Round that spring about 60 or 70 miles. I'm not sure how many -- he logged well over 1,000 miles with that boat on some different rivers here in 1997. (Daniel, 118-150, #7)

Experience

Boating - Skill/Challenge

And we like the challenge. ... to operate a jet boat in those waters requires a little bit higher level of skill and a little more challenge than the rafting does, to us at least. (Daniel, 248-249, #8)

I: What's the best part of going on one of those trips, if there is -- D: I'd say it used to be ... just the challenge of doing it and being able to do it, being able to navigate in different water flows. ... That probably would stand out as maybe the highest. (Daniel, 297-301, #9)

Access

I: What was it that attracted you initially to jet boating? D: Oh, access, ... we're ... pretty avid hunters and fishermen, and we could take the boats and go up the main Salmon above Riggins in the Fall; go up there ... on hunting trips, and steelhead fish. You wouldn't have to put a raft in and float down for several days. You could access it better. And we could get up into Hells Canyon and access that ... for the same reasons. (Daniel, 242-247, #10)

... We go up there almost every fall elk hunting .... we trail some horses in to the mouth of Sheep Creek .... then we jet boat our hay and camp up the river. And then we elk hunt and ... we jet boat our camp and our elk meat back out, you know, that kind of stuff. And if ... somebody gets an elk ... then they can steelhead fish, use a boat and steelhead fish a little bit. And we look forward to that every year and we enjoy it. (Daniel, 299-311, #11)

And some years in the past we've ... hauled our horses and mules up the river. There's a picture of that old 22 foot boat with a mule loaded in it. In fact, that particular trip, my boy was twelve years old. [My brother's] boy was about eight. ... we took the top off of that boat, took the seats out of it, put some plywood down on the floor, and we built a ramp going from the walk-through windshield down to the floor there. And we thought it was going to work.... We trailered the boat to Whitebird, the mule was at Whitebird, and we unhooked the boat from the pickup and backed up to a gravel bank and caught the mule and loaded it in the back of the pickup and took everything to the end of the road above Riggins.... We got the boat in the water then unhooked the trailer and unloaded the mule out of the pickup and spent about 20 minutes trying to get the mule in the boat. Got the mule in the boat and hauled her up to Sheep Creek. And got him unloaded .. we loaded our backpack stuff and our tent on the mule's back and we started climbing up the mountain. [My brother's] boy ... he kind of gave out so he was hanging on to the mule's tail. ... up in a basin up off the river there about, oh, maybe a mile or a little over, spotted some elk and my boy ... ended up killing a spike bull and my brother killed a spike bull. ... I hauled one of the spike bulls ... to the river that night. And they ...just set up our tent there on the mountainside. ... And then [I] got on the mule and rode her back up to camp and got to camp about midnight. And the next morning there was snow on the ground. ... [My brother] and I each took a quarter of the elk on our backpacks, put half of the elk and all the camp on the mule's back and went to the river and we got our camp loaded in the boat. Then we spent another 20 minutes trying to get the mule in the boat, or a half hour. And came back down to the end of the road and came home and we were in Lewiston Sunday night. So anyway, the jet boat played a ... very integral part in that. (Daniel 329-365, #12)

I might go up there ... February or March when the ice goes out of the river primarily for steelhead fishing and sightseeing, look at the game. I go up there in April or May for spring bear hunting and again sightseeing. A lot of times, you know, there's a fair amount of game on the river and it's beautiful up there. Also for the challenge of running the river.... Go up there in the summertime ... just for the challenge of doing it and sightseeing, you know, visit some of these old historical sights, old Jim Moore place, Barth Hot Springs, and hike up the creeks. I've hiked up quite a few of those creeks ... at different times and trout fished up those creeks. I've camped, you know. Camping is a big part of it. A lot of different things. Just really -- I guess I'm a little bit addicted to the outdoors and that's a way to be there. (Daniel, 271-293, #13)

Wilderness

I: Does the fact that that river runs through a wilderness make a difference to you one way or another? D: Yeah, yeah. It adds a -- it's a little bit more remote. It's an added attraction for us particularly from a hunting standpoint. (Daniel, 437-442, #14)

Awareness of Socio-cultural History/Presence

Jet boating, power boating on the Salmon River is part of its history.... people have power boated on the river almost as long -- well, not as long as they've rafted, ... because .. wooden barges came down the river ... in some of the pretty early days. So ... it's been power boated since I think the late 1940s. And possibly before that.... a lot of history there. (Daniel, 458-476, #15)

I've hung up in the middle of the river on a rock one time and was hung up on that rock all night.... My dad did that looking for a body down by Whitebird.... Somebody -- it was the spring of the year. Somebody went in the river down on the highway with a vehicle and drowned and when they were looking for a body, is what they were doing. (Daniel, 165-194, #16)

... my brother and I have got a cabin on the lower Salmon ... and that's how we access it, is by jet boat. We -- you know, we've hauled all the supplies up there to build a cabin with. I also guide. I'm an Idaho and Oregon state licensed outfitter and guide.... My license goes from ... the mouth of the Salmon to Vinegar Creek. In the past a few years, I've had a guide license on the upper Salmon from Vinegar Creek to Corn Creek. (Daniel, 554-571, #17)

Use Ethic

I: What does that [responsible shared use] ... entail? I mean, your understanding of what that term means. D: Responsible shared use? I think it entails being totally responsible for your own actions, respecting other user groups. You might like to raft but you don't like jet boats, that's fine. You should still respect it. And the same way with jet boaters. You get a jet boater out there that's got a new jet boat and he thinks he's some kind of a hot dog or something. He needs to respect other user groups just as much. And the ones that don't should be jerked off the river. (Daniel, 1110-1138, #18)

... I think the Forest Service is worried about crowding or overcrowding. There needs to be restrictions put on jet boating just the same as there needs to be restrictions on rafting. And the restrictions need to be so it provides a quality experience for everyone. But I adamantly oppose eliminating any portion of the river to either user group for any period of time. (Daniel, 507-516, #19)

I think there are people within the Forest Service who see our point of view and believe that wholeheartedly. But I think there are a lot of people in the Forest Service ... [who are] going to do what they can to ... get rid of motorized use. And they just view it as motorized use and they view it as an encroachment, and that's their attitude. And that's unfortunate. (Daniel, 1148-1158, #20)

I think ... in the Forest Service right now ... there are some mid-management people whose holy grail is to eliminate motorized access. (Daniel, 685-686, #21)

And it [the Salmon River] needs to be shared. That river needs to be shared by both rafters and jet boaters. Out of 34 federally classified rivers in the Pacific Northwest, jet boats are prohibited on about ... 30 or 31 of them. Anyone who doesn't want to share that river with a jet boat has got other rivers they can go on without that. And it's -- I think to push for exclusionary use is very selfish, it's one-sided and it's not fair. (Daniel, 535-542, #22)

River Self-limiting
I'm not sure what an ideal number is, but I think ... from Ludwig to Corn Creek is, what, close to 60 miles, 55, 60 miles. I think it can handle a ... little bit more private jet boat traffic. The private jet boaters -- the river itself is pretty self limiting... And the lower the water gets the more the use goes down for private power boaters. (Daniel, 822-825, #23)

Other Users
The dealings I've had with commercial jet boaters, they've been courteous, they've been professional, they've been fair. I've never had a problem with any of them. ... I've never, ever had a problem with a commercial rafting group on the Salmon. Most of them have been pretty darned professional, courteous and fair. Had problems with a few private rafting groups, not very many. I'd say probably far less than ten percent. (Daniel, 736-742, #24)

D: But there are a few groups that do not like jet boats and do not want to see jet boats on the river. I: ... Do you have a feeling as to why ... D: I think the commercials for the most part that are up there, they know jet boats are there and they've kind of accepted that fact and, if they accept that fact and they educate their clients that they're going to see jet boats ... it's not a problem. But ones that it's a problem with are the ones that don't think jet boats have a right to be there. And think they should get jet boats off the river and, try to tell their clients that. We definitely have that problem in Hells Canyon. ... those people ... come from all over the United States and different parts of the world, internationally. If they float down the river with a commercial raft group, they want to believe in those guides, they do believe in those guides, and they believe what those guides tell them. And most of the guides kind of take the attitude of the owners. And if the owners are anti-jet boat, boy, it comes across with the guides. And ... if you're on the river every day, you can watch groups put in and you can tell on the commercials which ones are friendly to jet boats and which ones aren't by the attitude of the guides and the clients, by the second day they're on the river. (Daniel, 746-778, #25)

Safety
Learning
I: How does ... an operator go about making themselves prepared to run a river like the Salmon? D: To learn it? That's a good question ... [go] on the river with someone who's had experience. That plus -- spend time

scouting the rapids. Don't be afraid to spend time scouting the rapids. I've spent a lot of time up there scouting rapids, With the boat tied up along the bank studying it. Then I still do that on occasion. That's probably the best way. Go up there with commercial outfitters. You can do that or go up there with an experienced private power boater. I: Ride along or follow behind him or ... D: Ride along is the best. Or follow along behind in some easy water flows. Start out in easy water flows and you follow along and then stop and scout the ones that are potentially a problem. (Daniel 839-883, #26)

Roger

Personal History

Oh, gee, when we first started out I ran all the forks of the Boise, the Middle fork, the South fork, all the forks of the Payette other than the north fork. ... you wouldn't dare do it right now because there's just too many floaters but we [used to] put in down there by Garden Valley and run up the South Fork and we went up to Middle Falls once which is a long ways up there. Ran the middle fork of the Payette. We used to run the main Boise. Ran it all, there's a dam you can't get over down by Middleton, between Middleton and Caldwell, other than that, all the way to the mouth. I've run all of the Snake River in different sections, all the way up to and past Twin Falls. Been all of Hells Canyon. Ran the Salmon River from the mouth of the Salmon. (Roger,92-99, #1)

I floated the Middle Fork of the Salmon in 1960 for the first time when I was 12 years old and became interested in rivers and spent a lot of time floating. I do more time floating than jet boating on the Middle Fork and the Main and the Bruno and different sections of the Boise River, all the forks of the Payette River, the Rogue River in Oregon, Hells Canyon. We did that as a family. (Roger, 43-44, #2)

My daughter who went up to Montana, she's a guide on the Salmon River. My son's boated, gosh, I think, first time he rode the middle fork he was 12 or 13. Took his own boat down. (Roger, 303-305, #3)

The older I get I like the Main more because it's easier. (Roger, 311, #4)

Then in '80 or '81, the opportunity came to buy some property up there on the main Salmon ... so the jet boat has been a way to access the property, more than anything and then we get up there and go fishing, but it's mainly access. (Roger, 45, #5)

Experience

Access

I: And when you've gone on these trips, is there a part sticks out as being the best part or is it kind of all the same as the overall experience ...? R: Well, it's like going up your driveway, it's a way to get there. There's some parts that are better, but at times, I wish I had an airplane so I could fly. (Roger, 55-58, #6)

I: What originally got you interested in jet boating? R: Oh, I think it was river access, not so much jet boating. (Roger, 40-42, #7)

Boating - Respect for River, Skill

I guess if you go back to where a lot of people are when they start out jet boating, it's more of a thrill. There's a challenge there of running whitewater, it's the same thing as rafting, you know. You get the same feeling in your gut. If you're standing below Chittam at the end of highwater and you're looking at 15 foot waves that you've got to go up with the jet boat or whether your above Big Mallard in a raft coming down and wondering if that hole at the bottom is going to eat you this time. It's kind of the same thing, I don't know how to describe that. (Roger, 74-78, #8)

I: So the water reading scale would be something that's kind of universal to any river. R: Sure, as it would be with rafting. You pick up a different perspective, I guess, maybe at 25-30 mph than you do at 3 mph. You've got a lot more leeway, you bounce a rubber boat off a rock, it doesn't make much noise. You bounce one of those aluminum tubs up a rock and boy it makes an ugly noise. (Roger, 418-423, #9)

I never started with anybody. We just kind of went up and put the boat in and said which way do we want to go, up or down? We'd hunt and peck that way, kind of chasing the steelhead a little bit. I can remember a lot of times getting up to Vinegar Creek and my guts were just turning so bad, I'd spend about 20 minutes on the john there. I was nervous. You've got $40,000 boats now, back then they were $10 or $12,000 dollar boats and that's a lot of money to be risking. I've hit a couple of rocks on different occasions and never done a lot of damage to the boat itself, but to the pumps. (Roger, 394-400, #10)

But they were coming down it and the guy got kind of confused so instead of turning his way out of it, he pulled the throttle off and right into a cliff. He went out through the windshield. Broke his wife's leg. It just bounced [the other passenger] around but he didn't bust anything. You have got to be careful. (Roger, 453-456, #11)

It seems like every year there's a big group out of Boise and McCall ... that will go up on the Salmon and ... we'd have a lot of water that normally wrecked a lot of them. I can remember one year, we picked up three different groups and helped them out, people were stranded or they had some type of problems caused by impacts with rocks. So then they'd go back and they'd be scared and you wouldn't see another private boater up there that Fall. (Roger, 15-17, #12)

Salmon Unique Characteristics

Technical Difficulty

There's a lot of water in and around the state of Idaho: Hells Canyon, different sections of the Snake River where they can go out and get experience with moving water. You'd have to keep pushing the envelope. It used to be when most of the boaters down in the Boise area wanted to move out and get into bigger and heavier rapids, they'd go up on the Payette and run that. The Salmon River was always the next move up. (Roger, 390-393, #13)

The Snake seems to run a lot around 15-20,000 CFS and if you're boating in that type of water, it's pretty heavy water, the Salmon, I guess a normal Summer/Fall flow after the water goes down is probably 4,000-5,000. It's a big difference. ... a friend of mine came over from Oregon, ... and he ran with us for a couple of days and his comment was, your rivers have really sharp rocks. They're used to the Oregon and Washington rivers where they're round rocks. They're dealing with those kinds of shoals and gravel bars. And the rocks up here, they're not very forgiving. You hit one of those, you stay hit. It's like ... they didn't think anything of running across gravel bars and sliding the boats, and we don't do that around here. So somewhere you've got to acquire some shallow water experience I think before you go up on the Salmon. (Roger, 404-414, #14)

Salmon River Self-Limiting

The Salmon River does take some technique so it is kind of self limiting so a lot of what they're doing, they're kind of chasing their tails. Only so many boats are going to go up because of the skill level involved in running the river. (Roger, 2-3, #15)

I: Now, ... if you were given responsibility of managing that river corridor, what issues would you focus on ...? R: Well, I think what I would focus on is that there is a self limiting effect to the river by experience and equipment. Just above Mackay Bar there's a rapid called Ludwig which is again another limiting factor. Jet boats run up as far as that and most of them won't go through it during the use seasons. (Roger, 237-241, #16)

Other

I: Is there something about the Salmon that makes it different to you from other places you've been? R: As far as places that jet boats can run in the Northwest, aesthetically, it's ... pretty fabulous. (Roger, 108-111, #17)

Wilderness

Characterization

I: Does the fact that the Salmon runs through a wilderness area ... make a difference to you one way or the other? R: Probably not. I guess I wasn't aware that the Frank Church Wilderness Area ran on both sides of the river there. ... there's a lot of areas like that that you can run in but it's not wilderness... (Roger, 118-

122, #18)

I: In general then, I guess, what meaning does the Salmon River up there have for you? R: It's my home. When you've got property there and have been there for twenty years, it's kind of like you've got a second home. (Roger, 124-127, #19)

Awareness of Socio-cultural Presence

There's a lot of friends and people that I've met over the years up and down the river that, like when you're at your house and go see your neighbors, it's kind of the same thing. It's a fun community. That's what it is. Heinz's up at Five Mile Bar, my brother who's a physician takes care of his wife's asthma and my brother also takes care Mike down at Shepp Ranch and Heinz's in return are always cutting us wood or taking care of different things. It goes back and forth as you would with any neighbor in a neighborhood. That's a lot of the reason that we go up there is to see people. (Roger, 65-70, #20)

You go up there, especially in the area where we're concerned mainly is Mackay Bar down to Shepp Ranch area. There's a lot of licensed commercial operators that will move up the river, a lot of the day trippers that are bringing their clients up, if they don't catch fish at Vinegar Creek, they move and they move and they move. (Roger, 20-21, #21)

R: This is the boat landing of ours above Mackay Bar close to our cabin. Jeep can get down there and drag stuff. I: The jeep is up at the property? R: Yes. I: Did it get up there via jet boat or was it flown in? R: No, there's a road. ... Down from Dixie it comes in that way. (Roger, 150-165, #22)

I: [Looking at pictures] Is that like an old Model T or something? R: Yeah, when the mining was in there, there's a couple of old cars up there, that's where they quit. There's an old cat that just sits right where it quit. And this is kind of an overview here. This is the Mackay Bar Lodge down here and this would be our cabin clear out here. The pasture from the airstrip is right along here. (Roger, 186-192, #23)

There's a little road, you can't go very far by jeep up there that goes up the South Fork three or four miles. It's pretty nasty. It's kind of fun to go up there because there's a lot of historical evidence up there. The Rains Massacre which started the Sheepeater War. It started right there. There's a lot of historical stuff there. This is on the Badley property up on the river. (Roger, 177-183, #24)

R: ... this is Five Mile Bar, Buckskin Bill. Heinz and Barbara, they arrived in the U.S. in '81 and actually walked from New Mexico up there with a mule and a dog. When I first met them, they were living just right over here on the other side of the river in a tepee and then the old caretaker moved back to South Carolina and they moved in there and took his job. I: Were you around here up there when Buckskin Bill was alive? R: Yes. This is one of Buckskin's -- he lived in this small building in the summertime and then he had another one that he lived in the wintertime. He pretty much was kind of a stinky old guy .... These pictures of Polly Bemis. This is at, down at the part that they call Polly Bemis place and then it was called the Salmon River Resort Club. It was a timeshare operation that Wayne Newton's manager tried to put in there. (Roger, 200-211, #25)

Use Ethic

R: ... there's not a lot of conflict between the jet boaters and the floaters which used to be a pretty major problem on the rivers. Back in the mid'70's, you had a little bit different mentality of people who were floating. It was still a pretty rugged type of outdoors thing. They didn't have green and purple boats back then. And the people kind of thought of themselves as pretty outdoorsy type people and a lot of the jet boaters were motor heads. I saw some ugly stuff back then, from both sides. And things have changed over the years. Floating is so popular now. There's just a real diverse group of people who float. Again, because the boats, the float boats, made an amazing [break through ?] the self bailing boats. (Roger, 242-251, #26)

Well, in the old days, it was nothing, to get mooned, flipped off, and maybe people shaking their fists at you .... Then the Forest Service in their pre-float speech, they mellowed the people out a little bit and then on the other hand, the jet boaters became more polite. In rapids, they would yield and stuff like that and still I think the jet boaters have learned that if you're on the river fairly early and you get off by ten or eleven and the floaters pretty much have the river during the day and they want to get to camp and have a beer by 3:30 or 4:00, so they're in camp. (Roger, 263-265, #27)

... he was going to sell timeshares and one of his offerings was that you buy one of these timeshares and you get a boat permit that allows you to run a jet boat. Well, that's when the Forest Service hollered bullshit. And I think they were within their rights to do that because the proliferation of jet boat trips due to that and permits could've gotten crazy. How many times are you going to allow somebody to subdivide a piece of property so each time they break it off, that generates another boat permit. That's when they came up and said they started the landowner's permits and they started the private boat owner permits kind of because of what was going on there. (Roger, 212-216, #28)

I know when we try to go up in the summertime, when you're running, I think there's seven launches a day on the main Salmon and each launch can have up to 24 people. With the advent of these inflatable kayaks with the advent of the small cats, you could have 24 boats. We've launched groups, I think the highest we've had was 17 boats. That's a lot. And if these boats start stretching out, you could be continuous rafts when you're trying to jet boat that river. So you take that number, 7 times 24 times yeee this is a lot of rafts. But the river handles a lot. It's a big river. With everything moving at the same pace. (Roger, 266-274, #29)

... when they put this together and designated the Salmon River as ... wild and scenic.... [They said] the use of motor boats including motorized jet boats within this segment of the Salmon River shall be permitted to continue at a level not less than the level of use which occurred during the calendar year of 1978. And that's what the forest service is basing all of their prefaces off of because of that statement. And that's the law... So what they did was they didn't set a ceiling on it, they set a floor. ... the Forest Service did some crazy things when they first started with the landowner permits, you had to prove that your property was accessed in the year 1978. Which was kind of a crazy deal so I went back and our cabin was built by an Idaho businessman ... so I got a hold of his real estate guide ... and, yes, they had accessed the property. But ... there's a cabin that was owned by five people in 1978 and the present owners went back and contacted these people and one of the old guys was a really good bookkeeper and so he went back to his fishing logs, he says the fishing was not any good in 1978 and we didn't' go to Mackay Bar. So, being good citizens, they went to the Forest Service and said, you know the people that owned the cabin in 1978 didn't go in there. The Forest Service denies them a permit. So these people filed suit and then the Forest Service rolled over and gave them three permits. So that's a little bit of the history of what you may or may not run into depending on how long the people you've been talking to have been around. (Roger, 224-235, #30)

I: Have you found in your experience that the Forest Service has any misconceptions about jet boaters and if so, what would those be? R: Oh, I think they've got some huge misconceptions. You go read the EIS that they came out with on the Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness. They put some data in that that was, they made it up! They absolutely made it up. I: Do you recall an example of that maybe? R: No, I don't, I don't have the EIS. Just some of the numbers they came up with and their presence on the river. They weren't there. They were not there. ... I spent an evening with the, summer before last, I don't remember the gentleman's name, but he worked for the Forest Service at Corn Creek. He was the fellow that checked all the people in and he was very annoyed ... the Forest Service had not made one trip down that year. Not one, zero presence. ... And I have seen forest service boats, but mainly off season when you'd see their green rafts come through. As far as any presence on during the controlled time, and I think a lot of that is because the pressure's on those people, they've got forest fires to take care of. When the pressure's off, in the Fall and the Spring, they're there. But then the use is not there and so it seem kind of ironic that they come up with these numbers and after - with 20 years on that river - they just don't have a presence. ... They're just not there, not that they should be. I don't' want them there, big brother looking after you, George Orwell "1984" we don't need that either, so, you know, if they're going to come up with all these premises and different things, gosh it would be nice to see them have some background for it. (Roger 324-362, #31)

Two years ago we were up at Painter Mine and they did -- it's above Ludwig, and we boated up there in the

Fall and here were two or three Forest Service guys that were up there to do a boat survey. They hadn't seen a boat other than me in a week and a half. Because they don't boat up there! It's crazy. ... But there they were having a grand time. When you see stuff like that you just kind of shake your head and go, wow. But government bureaucracy of that size. (Roger, 363-374, #32)

... it does get in my craw the fact that the outfitters on the Middle Fork, the rafters, there's a finite number of permits and they give half of them to the outfitters. The other half of them, we have to put in for a permit. When you pay the taxes that support all the infrastructure around here, the airports and all the places where people access the area and there's no consideration for some of the lands in the state of Idaho .... I guess the way I would equate it if those permits were elk tags, I'm not a big game hunter, but if they were elk tags and you gave half of them to the outfitters and then you put the rest of them in a lottery that everyone can draw on, boy you'd have a riot in this state, as you would in Montana. (Roger, 133-135, #33)

I know the fee structure they're trying to do is a difficult issue. I think that's what's going to cause some real rifts among private landowners because we've paid for the property, we pay the taxes on the property and now the Forest Service is telling us to go in there and to do the traditional things you've done in the past, you're going to have to pay us $5 a day for a person to do it. Number one ... that cabin's part of my retirement. I'd like to go back there and use it and not have to pay for it. Number two, at some point, cash it in so it's an estate for my kids. But you take a hunting and fishing cabin and you take away the ability to hunt and fish ... without paying a fee structure, what's it make the place worth. ... I don't know whether these people haven't read these documents ... concerning egress and ingress. Nowhere is there wording in here like the wording that they've attached to our private landowners permits. They tell us that we can ingress and egress to our property but we can't hunt and fish or sightsee and visit. It doesn't say that. ... I just think it's foolish, it's a waste of money to be ignorant like that. I think there's justification for the fee schedule for people that are out their using the resources, camping, and staying on them and where the Forest Service is involved on a regulatory basis to keep track of them, to issue the permits, to participate in cleaning up the campgrounds, to maintain the standards ... under the limits of acceptable change, that's their big guidelines. Well, you have to keep everything within that. It is nice to float the Middle Fork and camp and you can't tell anybody's been there. And the same on the Main. I think with their funding cutbacks, the people that are using those resources should pay for them. But what are they doing for private landowners. We're not camping, we ingress and egress but that's kind of a granted right. ... We take groups of 5-8 and go in there for 3 days. That's 24 boat days. You do that four times a year and all of a sudden you're there and you multiply that times the $5, you're talking fairly serious dough, at least you are for this guy. (Roger, 462-495, #34)

Club Membership

Political

I used to [belong to a jet boat club], not now. I was on the board of directors for a lot of years .... But we had a purpose back then. The Hells Canyon issue where we had boated a lot we were working to maintain the rights over there. We thought we had that put to bed back in the early '80's. Well, it's all flared back up. Then it turned to kind of a social group where a bunch of boaters get up and see how much beer they can drink. They got fairly stupid, so it was not fun to take your family out. We became more involved in floating. (Roger, 294-302, #35)

Safety

Learning

I: When you're teaching somebody how to run it, do you generally join them in the boat, have them operate while you kind of coach them or do you have them follow you ...? R: I usually let them drive a little bit to pick up their skill level. When I figure out they don't know what they're doing, then I drive, you know. If they've got enough ability to seem to handle the boat and control the boat in moving water, then you kind of go from there. (Roger, 425-430, #36)

And then again, there's a couple islands and different things where you've just got to memorize it. So in teaching people to run it I try not to teach them to memorize different areas because if you go on a boat somewhere else, it doesn't do any good, but if you learn to read the water, you know whether that wave is moving, it's due to a fall, if it's standing still, it's due to a rock there and you've got to kind of get people to pick up on that. (Roger, 415-416, #37)

John, Amy, and Derrick

Experience

I: ... when you go jet boating do you generally go for one thing like fishing or do you go at different times for different things? D: Most generally fishing, some hunting, but mainly fishing. And sometimes we went up in the summertime too, but most generally it's in the Fall. (Derrick, 53-56, #1)

Well, other than being more challenging, its just getting into an area away from a whole bunch of boats, I guess, basically. Just getting up there in that kind of country is mainly the reason we use it. Mainly we're going up there fishing, so we're running this whitewater to fish. But it's a challenge, I don't think everybody wants to do it. (Derrick, 66-69, #2)

I haven't been up there for two years. Two years ago we had a short run, actually had a bad steelhead run and I haven't been up there. ... normally in the Spring and the Fall I go. We had that short run of steelhead and I kind of got out of the habit of doing it. Normally I go 3 plus times a year. (Derrick, 90-115, #3)

Family

The best part for me is the quality time that you get to spend with your family. You know you actually spend time with your family and it's the whole package, being up there is great and the ride is cool, and fishing is just an added thing for me. (Amy, 85-86, #4)

And we've gone up on the Fourth of July just to take the kids up there. We've taken our kids up there on the Fourth of July. We go when we get the time. Sometimes the summer's better for us than hunting and fishing season. (John, 58-62, #5)

... my kids are starting to get old enough now where I can take them up there and go do some serious fishing. Before they were young, last summer was a good test summer for us to see what they could handle and what they can do. (John, 430-431, #6)

Boating - Respect for River, Skill

A: The more you look at a river, the more you know how to read it. I: So knowing how to read the water? A: Yeah, how to read what you see in the water and the different times of day it looks different. J: Sun glare plays a lot on that. (Amy and John, 338-344, #7)

I: So water reading skills are maybe the most important thing there? J: Well, and knowing your own ability too. You don't want to go somewhere where you don't feel comfortable because you're looking for problems. If you don't feel comfortable, don't go there, or figure out how to feel comfortable doing it. (John, 361-365, #8)

Nature

I think the best part of it is the scenery. You'll never find anyplace that looks - it's beautiful. (John, 71-72, #9)

J: Well, the boat ride's the best if the fishing's real bad! We go up there and there'll be times that you'll go - I went up to China Bar just to drive there, took the boat, went up, you saw some country that you normally don't see, there's always the possibility of seeing elk or deer or moose or sheep right down on the river which, how many people see sheep running along the river? (John, 78-82, #10)

Cultural History of Area

The history of the canyon is real interesting, just the history of all the people that have lived there before and just to know that the fish still make it there. (Amy, 208, #11)

It's like going to Buckskin's and going through their museum, it's just like going through the museum on the

Snake River, it's pretty interesting to do. (John, 215, #12)

Access
J: Well, there's a different aspect of that altogether too. It's like when you take your ... Dad and Mom up there. There was no way for them to get in there, they couldn't float in. They could've flown in, but by going in there and having a boat, they were able to fish areas that they would've never been able to fish and see the country and see the sheep, just the whole experience. It was great. I: Sure, so for people that maybe aren't physically able for one reason or another - A: To float. It's a way for them to experience it. J: Or can't take five days. With the boats being able to go back and up and wherever you want to go, it's easier. (John and Amy, 387-399, #13)

J: We want to have access to go up there and my kids are starting to get old enough now where I can take them up there and go do some serious fishing. .... I'd sure hate to see it be restricted or have to put a permit in January 1 when you don't know when you're going to want to go up there. Some people go up there when the fishing's good. I: So having the permit season in that sense would kind of limit your flexibility? J: It definitely would limit the flexibility. You just hate to see it. ... if you have to pick on January 1 when you're going to fish in October or September, you know, it's not the same. They say the fishing's good, or the ice is going out and you go up and you go fishing if the fish continue. (John, 430-441, #14)

I guess the spontaneity of being able to go when you want to go is the biggest thing. That's the main thing. In our situation we can't plan ahead for three days. (John, 516-518, #15)

Personal History
I: What originally got you interested in jet boating? J: I just went and did it with Dad. (John, 42-45, #16)

J: I shot one of my first deer in Hells Canyon, me and my uncle. D: Your very first one. I: Did you go up via jet boat? J: Yeah. Went to Pittsburgh and went down by the ?? hiked up and shot a couple of deer. Pretty exciting, a lot of fun, ran out of gas in the boat and all that. I've gone so far - we drove to Pittsburgh landing and hitchhiked rides with guide boats... [he would] throw us on the nose and we got all these tourists behind us from Lewiston and he dropped us into big waves, would get us all wet. We'd help them load and unload, you know, but it got us up the river until we could meet our party. (John and Derrick, 446-457, #17)

Salmon Unique Characteristics
I: Is there something about the Salmon that makes it different from other places? ... A: I think it's the wildlife for me. J: I'd have to agree. ... I like it when it gets narrow ... up there and when you're fishing especially when you're back trolling that one hole right there and steelhead fish every morning and it's great. You can't beat it, I mean there's no other place to be. (Amy and John, 150-159, #18)

I: In general ... does the Salmon itself have any special meaning for you, that comes to mind when you think of the Salmon? D: Other than the fact that it's unique? A: It's undammed. I always think that's the way it's always been, one of those places that's probably pretty much the way it's always been, so that's really special. D: No place else to go really. J: The only thing I could think of is that's where I asked my wife to marry me. That took a lot of planning and my knees were knocking and I was scared, I was really scared. I mean, I'm hours away. If she says no, I just swim back ... So for me I relate it to that and, of course, spending a lot of time in there, we flew into a lot of the airstrips up there. We've hiked down from Sylvia's place and we've actually done a lot in there beyond just taking the boat up and driving the boat back. (Derrick, Amy, and John, 183-201, #19)

J: I guess the best part about it is that it is hard to get to. That's one of the most unique parts about the whole canyon experience is that it takes - you have to want to go to get there, you don't end up there just because you've got your car - A: And wanted to take a drive. (John and Amy, 210-213, #20)

Wilderness

Characterization

I: Does the fact that ... the river ... runs through wilderness ... make a difference to you one way or the other? D: Probably not. J: Never really thought about it. D: I mean I don't think there would be any more people or any less people. A: I don't either because it's not easy to get up there. I: So in terms of your experience, you don't necessarily think of that whole thing when you're going up there? A: Not really. D: Naw, because there's places I mean literally that you can drive in there like you can drive to Mackay Bar. You'll see people that'll drive in from Grangeville, they drive down, they camp, they fish there, they walk across the bridge there on the beach, just another access to get in there. (Derrick, John, and Amy, 164-181, #21)

Awareness of Socio-cultural Presence

J: There was an elderly gal that lived up there and she'd always hitchhike down on boats back and forth. A: Is her name Sylvia, or no? J: I don't remember what her name was. A: She lives on the river so she hitches rides with the boaters back and forth if she needs to go into town or wants to. J: Is she still there? A: I don't think she's there anymore. J: I thought she passed away. A: I think she did. It was like last summer was the last time he gave her a ride or the summer before. Tara was in the boat and he hit a rock and about beached his boat. J: He did beach it. Dad about beached it. He hit a rock. It was where the tree sticks out when you're coming down river you're
looking for that tree laying at Dried Meat. Right there at Dried Meat with that tree up on the rocks. A: I guess this old lady was like, no big deal. I've done this a thousand times. (John and Amy,459-484, #22)

J: Drove up there, tied his boat up at Mackay Bar, woke up the next morning and went down and it was gone. So he calls in ... one of these plane services, gets in the airplane and they're flying the river looking for their boat. Here it had just floated down, what'd he say four or five miles or something. A: It was on a sand bar. J: Just above Shepp Ranch or something like that. A: Just kind of sitting there. J: Wasn't tied up or nothing. I think they landed at Shepp and ran him back out to his boat and got it. A ton of stuff that happens up there. (John and Amy, 486-498, #23)

Use Ethic

Shared Use

There's a bunch of floaters on that river. There are a lot of dang floaters. I think there are 3,000 floaters in one week or something like that. ... of course they're staged out all the way down the river. There are just a lot of floaters. (Derrick, 322-327, excerpt #24)

I feel that river can handle quite a bit of use as far as floaters and jet boaters. I know there's always going to be a conflict for the amount of time, you know, two user groups fighting over the same territory. (Derrick, 381-382, #25)

... you wouldn't want a bunch of people up there drinking and partying.... You're up there to be in the mountains and in the wilderness. You don't want anything to cause problems for your neighbor, I guess you'd have to say, because you're going to run into people no matter where you are so you respect other people that are on the river, usually everybody gets along and there's no problems. (John, 251-252, #26)

... I would definitely have rules posted at loading places, this is what's expected of all river users. Say something like, you risk losing your privilege to use the river if you're not following the rules, or something like that. Somehow be able to enforce it. (Amy, 232-234, #27)

D: I've never had any problem with anybody. ... J: Everybody's overly friendly, especially up the river. ... I mean you just wave, you talk to them. A: It's been positive. J: When the floaters come by and we're at Mackay Bar so we jump off the bridge and splash them and they're throwing water back and forth, it's just, it's very friendly. (Derrick and John, 257-266, #28)

I don't know, I've never had a problem up there. Maybe the floaters had problems with me, but I didn't have no problems with floaters. ... of course, they don't like ... any motor noise and all this stuff, I don't know, maybe they should float the Middle Fork. (Derrick, 383-385, #29)

A: I think it's good the way it is now. I'd like to be able to keep it the way it is now for future generations. Not restrict it so much that people can't enjoy it, but not let it go crazy either. J: Cause once you restrict it, it'll never come back. A: Yeah, you'd never get it back. (Amy and John, 500-506, #30)

Stewardship

The river corridor is kept clean by individuals. I've been up there in the summertime, I never had any problems with floaters or nothing, but if everybody cleans up after themselves that's the main deal. (Derrick, 220-221, #31)

J: I don't know if there's really a problem with cleanliness. Everyone seems to do a real good job cleaning up last time we were up there, you know. D: Hell, I've never seen anybody leave nothing. Everybody's pretty good about that. (John and Derrick, 245-250, #32)

The way we're going, there may not be any fish to even care about. You might have to drive down to the Rogue River or the coast or something to catch a damn fish. That'd be a shame. But that's another issue. (John, 442-445, #33)

Forest Service Planning/Decision Making

J: I don't think the jet boaters have a good lobbying part, so I think that no one really knows what is going on with them. I think that the squeaky wheel gets the grease and so whoever makes the most noise or has the most power or can generate the most lobbyists or whatever is going to get heard 100% better. A: I think they probably have a better idea of what's happening with all the floaters than with the jet boaters. J: Or the guides, stuff like that. People that actually have people that are lobbyists for them that work. Because, granted, they have more regulation than we do being in the business versus individuals, so they have to know what they're doing. (John and Amy, 313-320, #34)

Well the Forest Service, I've never seen them - all that many people. (Derrick, 230, #35)

Safety

Learning

I: When you're going about learning how to run that river, what's the process if you were teaching somebody the steps or process that you would think that they would need to go through to get themselves prepared and skilled? D: Well, just riding with someone else that's running it and paying attention. J: I think the one good way ... is get involved with a group like the Whitewater Association or something and they have boat rides. (Derrick and John, 329-333, #36)

J: ... the first time I ran up to China Bar, I just followed in the boat and watched where he would go and he'd go ahead of you a little ways, but you'd both run up there. D: You'd wait for the water clean out, get back to normal. You can't go through it when the water's all goofed up. Get back to normal. (John, 345-349, #37)

I spent a lot of time on the Payette, run just the Payette, it's quick, I can do it after work, but it's all experience and that adds to it. (John, 334, #38)

I: And you mentioned running the Payette and some of the other rivers, can you take the experience you get from say the Salmon or the Payette or the Snake and automatically apply it another river and be successful? D: Yeah, in a lot of ways. J: The characteristics of the rapids change, but your knowledge of where the rocks are laying don't. It's just how you read the river, I guess. (Derrick and John, 354-360, #39)

Tom and Sarah

Personal History

I: So do you -- you mentioned horseback riding. Do you use the Salmon River or the Frank Church Wilderness in ways other than jet boating then? T: Well, I was a professional hunter there for 30 years. I: Okay. T: I had an area and a hunting outfit, took guests in the fall and spring and winter. I actually went in there as a hunter. (Tom, 472-482, #1)

T: Oh, I've been interested in boats all my life. You know, some people like golf and some like boats, you know. I've always liked the water, liked to be around the river or a lake and just like boats. (Tom, 30-32, #2)

T: Well, I'm kind of in a transition period here. I was going at it hot and heavy for all those years. And now I'm just kind of relaxing. We're talking about buying a boat. We haven't been doing much boating. We have a place in there and we make a spring trip down to the cabin... (Tom, 694-702, #3)

I: What was the last time you were on the Salmon? Was that just -- when you went up just recently, was that by jet boat or - T: No, we went up -- when was that? S: Three weeks ago when we went fishing. T: Oh, that's right, yeah. (Tom and Sarah, 198-205, #4)

I: How many different places have you ... been jet boating? T: Oh, I've boated on the Snake, Clearwater, Rogue River, and all the time I was up in Alaska that summer in '86 I run a jet boat up there .... I've actually jet boated on the Bering Sea too. (Tom, 327-331, #5)

Experience

Boating, Respect for River, Skill

T: Well, you got a river, you got -- especially one like the Salmon, which is a -- really a world class jet boating river. You've got obstacles in it that you've got to overcome. You've got to set up and drive just like you were flying an airplane, maybe even pay a little bit closer attention at times because there's something coming up all the time, you know.
You've got to drive all the time. (Tom, 36-38, #6)

And any damn fool can run a float boat down through there, you know. If you just sit there it's going to go through. It may not be right but it's going to go. You can't do that with a jet boat. You've got to be right. (Tom, 628-633, #7)

T: [Jet boating requires] real good natural ability, then the one thing he's really got to have is he's got to have respect for that water. And we do what we call reading the water. When we go up river, we watch for little different waves and flat washes and stuff around the rocks and stuff, and you can tell how deep that rock is by the way it's washing it. And we read the water and it takes some time to learn how to do that. (Tom, 126-129, #8)

Yeah, it takes a lot of learning. Basically working on a 80 or 90 mile stretch of water. You know every ripple in it, every little tiny wave, where every rock is and sand bar and gravel bar and where the cross currents are, and all the hydraulics and the rapids. It's quite a bit to get stuff into your head, but it just takes some time. (Tom, 110-112, #9)

T: Run for the Forest Service in there in the early days and, you know, they'd want to go every week, maybe three of four days a week they'd use the boat, and the water's dropping all the time. It's getting lower, and it's getting lower, and just by inches, you know. And every day you'd think, my God, I don't know if I can make it, you know. Just there was certain places I'd just got to wiggle to get through, you know, and but it's just getting really nasty. And then you think, well, the day's wages is so much dollars and I haven't hit anything yet, maybe I ought to try it one more day. [laughter] And you just keep going and keep going and pretty soon you're running some water that's just unreal, you know. I: Wow, wow. T: It takes a lot of doing. It's a lot of wiggling and you got to set that nose up on a rock and just kick it around so that it will miss this next one over here, you know. Of course, it's not all like that. Get into the holes too. There's places where it's mighty dicey. (Tom 1031-1049, #10)

T: You don't realize how much you're ingrained with that stuff, how much you.... I went to Alaska one summer of '86 ... I went up there for two months. I came back, took a boat to -- up the river from Vinegar

Creek up to Whitewater, was going up through Elkhorn Rapids, I hadn't seen it in two months, and I got up behind the Big Elephant and said, God, there's something different here. ... Man, it's muddy there. Something's changed there. Rocks moved or something. And I found out later that while I was gone a guy sunk a jet boat in there. ... T: And it was wrapped around a rock there and it made just a little bit of a different wave there. T: And you just don't think you know that river that good, you know, but just that one place out of 40 miles that I noticed it -- caught it right off the bat. (Tom, 304-320, #11)

T: I stay out in the current where it's moving or it's moving enough so I can read the water. These guys, I get them in the boat and they'll cut across a rocky point, you know, where rocks have fell down and made a point out in the river. I say, how come you're running right up against that point? Well, it looked good to me. Well, those rocks tumbled down there for centuries, you know, and one of these days you're going to cut across one of them, there's going to be one on each end of the water out there, and it'll rip the guts out of that boat. (Tom, 175-179, #12)

T: So it all changes. Some place you sneak up alongside in high water and of course low water you're out there wiggling your tail trying to get through the rocks. That high water can be real dangerous because you've got to remember where all them big rocks are out along the side, and you don't have the chance to read it then because it's all just a big tumbling mass of water. T: You can't read it then. You've got to remember, learn in the summer time where the safe places are and you just don't go there [inaudible] high water. (Tom, 385-392, #13)

T: But you've got to respect the river, that's the main thing. I see guys driving up the river and they'll go across this swirl and I think, I know there's a rock there and it's marginal and they didn't even see it, you know. And I'll say, how come you didn't run into that rock? What rock? I didn't see any rock. Read that water. It told you right there just as plain as day right there, you know. It's marking itself. And that's the difference between running on lake and a river. On a lake there's no current. You can't tell where the rocks are. When I'm on a lake I'm nervous. I have nothing to read. I can't tell anything except just by the color of the water. And if it's a little muddy or something, you know, you just don't know if there's something six inches under there or not. And it makes me nervous. I like to stay in the current even on the river I don't get in the back eddies unless I know what's there. (Tom, 143-171, #14)

T: But that -- I made my mark in there, I'll tell you. I took -- last year I went up the river, took my old boat [inaudible] and some of them float boaters stood up and they -- stood up in the boat and saluted. I: Wow, wow. S: He'd been off the river for a [inaudible] ... I: So there's some -- there's some respect then. T: Oh, yeah. (Tom and Sarah, 635-648, #15)

I: Do you have a feel for how the experience is different then when you're a passenger as opposed to being the operator? [laughter] S: When you're a passenger it's just a lot of fun. You can see and look around and talk to people. And if there's nobody there, you know, that you have the scenery. But if you're driving that boat you don't do that. I: Yeah. S: The concentration level's too much for me. I: Okay. So there's -- T: It's a whole different ball game when you get up -- get over in that driver's seat. (Sarah and Tom, 990-1006, #16)

T: There are different ways to run the river. You can go around a rock one way or around the other way. ... Sometimes I'll sneak around, run around behind the big rock right next to shore or something just to give the passengers a kick, you know. S: And I'll say to him, why'd you do that? [laughter] T: I took my sister up one time to Salmon Falls and she'd never been in a jet boat before. ... I run it a pretty good clip ... I like to run up in there and wiggle my way up through it. I like to get lined up and hit it and run up through it so that I don't get knocked all over the place. ... I started approaching the falls and I was getting set up ... for my approach and she said, you're not going to run that, are you? You're Not Going To Run That, Are You? YOU'RE NOT GOING TO RUN THIS, ARE YOU? And you hit a big wall and you move forward, you know and come out on top. She said, my God, she said, that scared me. She said, I shut my eyes. I said, well, that's the only way to run it. [laughter] (Tom and Sarah, 1088-1118, #17)

T: You know what you can do with your boat. You know, that's just part of the, kind of the running mechanism. You do the thinking and the boat does the [inaudible], you know.... But you kind of forget who you are up there. You're part of the boat really. ... You're not thinking anything about you, you know. You're looking for stuff and keeping eyes peeled for ... whatever. (Tom, 407-420, #18)

I: Once you've driven as much as you have, is it pretty easy to hop in somebody else's boat? Or does it take a little while to get used to each -- is each boat a little different to maneuver? T: Most of them are quite a bit different, yeah. Yeah, it takes a little bit of ... getting used to. Some I've gotten into are almost impossible to drive. I don't know how they could get such a lousy piece of equipment. [laughter] God. I took a guy's boat up through Ludwig one time. He was up there sitting below and I stopped to talk to him. And he said, God, he said, I always wanted to run that but just never did have the nerve. I said, heck, I'll drive that thing up through it for you. I got in that thing and boy, I'll tell you, I got up it pretty good, but going up's the easy part. You have to come back down. It steered so bad you couldn't hardly make [inaudible]. I didn't know if I was going to get out of there or not. I really didn't. It was a big, huge, heavy, expensive boat. He had a lot of money, he had too much in it. He put so much in it ... with all the weight. It was a nice outfit but didn't have any steering. No chance of doing any [inaudible] real serious [inaudible] But they're all -- all a lot different. Some of them steer from the left side, some of them -- most of them are making them now for the rivers where you sit in the center of the boat and steer, right in the center of the windshield. That's the best way. And some of them -- most boats steer from the right. For some reason these river boats, most of them steer on the left. So when you switch from one side to the other and you change hands for throttle and steering, it's a whole different ball game. (Tom, 235-268, #19)

T: Really, really makes you think. You get so ingrained to doing one thing and doing it one way, you know. I had an engine break down on me one time and -- way down the river, and I borrowed one of Bob Smith's boats to -- he just said, aw, just take it home and come back in the morning, we'll work on the boat in the morning. And I got in that thing and his steering was backwards of mine. I: Oh, boy. T: Oh, I had a horrible time. I couldn't hardly get up the river ... I was going around and around up there. [laughter] God, I thought, I'll never get used to this thing. I just had it -- it's so ingrained in you to -- you don't -- you're not even thinking about that hand that's doing the steering. It's just doing what your brain tells it. T: And, you know, it's not something you think about. You just do it. I'd have to just absolutely think about, now, forward for left, back for right, you know, every time I made a turn to keep -- make sure I didn't go the wrong way. (Tom, 272-296, #20)

We just got this eighteen foot [inaudible] out here and it's really not a Salmon River boat. It's a real good Clearwater boat. (Tom, 537-538, #21)

Nature

And it's fun, you know. We watch the water go by and see animals, beautiful scenery. Just a good place to be. (Tom, 42-44, #22)

I: When you're out, you know, say, like, you know, out on the river, what's the best part of it to you? ... T: Well, it's all good. It's just being outdoor thing, you know, being out on the water and the motor running and you're going up the river or down. The water's flying and people laughing and having. It's just a lot of fun. (Tom, 77-85, #23)

Salmon Unique Characteristics

I: Being that you spend a lot of time on the Salmon up there, ... what kind of special meaning does that area have for you? Does it have any particular meaning to you or importance to you? T: Oh, it's very special. It's hard to describe. It's a remote country and it's big and it's got good game in it. It's pretty and you can get on a horse and ride for days and not see another soul. It's pretty special. (Tom, 463-470, #24)

I: Is there something in your experience that makes the Salmon different from other places where you've gone to jet boat? T: Well, it's different than any other place I've ever been. I guess it's just the land, how it's so rough down there, and rocky, and the canyons are steep, the rocks, and it's a pretty good volume of water. Right now it runs about eight or 10,000 cubic feet a second. And I think the -- it's the natural beauty of the country, remoteness of it, and the way the rocks have formed in the river and made the rapids and all that. It's just a perfect jet boat river. You've got to know about four different stages of water to run it, you know. You got to know the extreme low. You don't run it the way then when you do when it's high. And in high water you run a totally different route. Then you have your normal low water route that's just a good running route. And then the kind of a mid-level route where you can kind of go about any place. I guess eight or 10,000 is pretty good water. (Tom, 358-371, #25)

T: It's -- you know, this is a beautiful river right here [referring to river at interview location]. This is a National Wild Scenic River right here, and it's beautiful. It's absolutely gorgeous. But it is not the Salmon River. There's a difference. They're two different kinds of rivers. I: Yeah. T: This is a flat, slow river and the country around it's pretty, but it's -- you know, it doesn't stack up to the Salmon River. I: Yeah. T: But the water, the rapids and stuff are just nothing compared to Salmon River. But still in low water it's been a hard river to run. I: Sure. T: It's spread out over a big area, but when it shallows up it can be six inches deep on this side and six inches that side and clear across the same way. I: Oh wow. T: It's just about impossible to figure out a channel. It all looks the same. The water's so clear and everything, it's just hard to pick out. I: Wow. T: It takes every bit of experience you can muster to pick out your places because it's, the water's shallow. But the rapids are nothing compared to the Salmon River. (Tom, 432-461, #26)

T: But the Salmon River is an attraction for boaters because it's ... not blowing my own horn or nothing, but if you can successfully run the Salmon most people would probably call you a pretty good boater. (Tom, 760-761, #27)

Wilderness

Characteristics

I: Does the fact that the Salmon River runs through a wilderness in that portion -- does that make it different to you one way or the other? T: Well, not really. It's nice that it's wilderness and it's being protected, but I ran up there when it was called a primitive area. It hadn't been designated wilderness yet. And you [if] can't look out there and see that that's wild and wilderness country, why, -- you don't need a name tied onto it to tell you, you know. (Tom, 423-428, #28)

Sense of Community

T: And then some of commercials was telling people, you know, there's no -- no habitation in this canyon. Well Christ, there's a place every three or four miles, you know. I: Yeah, yeah. T: And people live there and there are roads, not many, but a few .... (Tom, 658-665, #29)

I: Yeah. Do you go up there for -- when you go up there on your own, anything in particular you go up there for? Or just kind of general, just to be out on the river? T: Oh, maybe just to be on the river. We know everybody along there, so it's a good chance to stop and visit or something like that if you've got a little spare time, and maybe go take your neighbors for a ride that don't have a boat or something like that, you know. (Tom, 64-69, #30)

Use Ethic

I: Do you ... have a feel for when -- at what point that you would feel the restrictions might be appropriate? ... T: Well, if I saw a great change in the use, you know, on the -- and it will be fairly obviously, you know. There's just too many people coming down, too much congestion ... totally ruin your experience, then it's too much. It's time to back off. And that could happen. They're letting quite a few down right now [inaudible]. And that river's in good shape. The canyon's in good shape. It's a hell of a lot better than it was 30 years ago. A lot of people don't know that. But there was a lot of trash in that canyon, an awful lot. (Tom, 775-787, #31)

I: What -- do you have a feel for how come that improved, that whole situation? T: Education. I: Hmm, okay. Was it -- T: A lot of it came from [name of Forest Service employee]. He was the first river patrol when I first got the contract to [inaudible], and he was a Syracuse football player and he looked like a little gorilla. But he was a -- he was really a super PR man, and he still is. ... And a lot of [inaudible] people didn't want to pack out their trash, they didn't want to [inaudible], they hadn't been required to do it. And old [name], he could just stand right there in front of the biggest guy in the world with the biggest grin. He was just a nice guy, you know. And just tell them, you know, ... You've got to fix this up here. He could do it and people respected him. ... They started doing it. They started cleaning it up. (Tom, 775-813, #32)

T: Almost anybody that saw anybody leave any trash now, why that guy'd be black balled from now on. They'd scream to high heaven, run to the authorities. That's just the way it is. (Tom, 858-860, #33)

I: If you were -- if you were given the opportunity to manage that area, the Salmon -- someone, you know, handed you the reins and said, here you go, what issues would you focus on that you would think would be important there? T: Well, I think they've been doing a pretty good job on managing it, as far as the float boaters and the jet boats [inaudible]. I don't have much quarrel with that. But I understand they're that they're thinking about getting a lot more restrictive and they're talking about cutting it in half the float boaters or something like that. Maybe about that on the jet boaters. The use on that river's not hurting that river. You're going to have encounters. That seems to be the primary concern of the float boaters. There's a lot of people using it and you're going to see other people. There's hardly any way to get around that and a little common courtesy by
all parties will make that so it's not a bad experience. (Tom, 550-560, #34)

Outfitters/Other Users
T: But I've started working on that in the early days when the float boaters started coming down. And I'm an easygoing guy and I like people, like to see people having fun, you know. And some of these float boaters come down there and they'd be all stiff-upper-lipped and maybe flip you a bird, and just [inaudible], you know. I just grin at them and smile and wave and so on and act like I'm having a hell of a good time. And, you know, after a few years it got kind of hard for them to act like that when you'd go by and act like you was having fun. (Tom, 564-568, #35)

T: And then some of commercials was telling people, you know, there's no -- no habitation in this canyon. Well Christ, there's a place every three or four miles, you know. T: And people live there and there are roads, not many, but a few, and so [inaudible] vehicle. They've been trying to sell something they really didn't have. I: Sure. So maybe part of the -- T: They were trying to act like we wasn't supposed to be there, you know, ... Hell, well, we've been there before they was. (Tom, 658-670, #36)

So it's just plain as the nose on your face that the outfitters themselves or their guides are -- and I don't know. The guides, you know, they come up to these rapids and they stop up there and they make all the people get out and they make them walk down there, you know, and they sit for an hour looking at this rapid thinking, you know, trying to psyche these people up and tell them this is the hardest rapid in the whole damn world to run. And they just about get in their boats and here comes a jet boat around the corner and he swishes down through there, you know, and I can see that it kind of deflates them. (Tom, 620-621, #37)

T: I told them -- there was -- oh, [name] and some of them guys come in there ..., they didn't like jet boats if they were bothering them. ... But, you know, I could be coming up the river and see some boats coming and by their colors I could tell whose outfit it was, the size of the boats, and knew about what their schedule was anyway. And you'd know that if you met one of them guys ... they'd be all bummed, looking nasty when you'd go by, you know. I just smile and wave and just, oh, how you guys doing, you know, have a good trip, you know, just go on and do my thing. And I'd tell them guys at the meeting and stuff, you know, they'd be complaining about having a bad experience and meeting too many jet boats in the day. And I said, you know, you guys are the only problem out there. It's not your guests, it's you. You're spoiling those people's day. You're ruining those people's experience by telling them it's a bad deal to see a jet boat. Why don't you say, God, here comes a jet boat, maybe we'll get to see him run that rapid we just went through, see how he does that, you know. T: And maybe talk it up a little bit, you know. I: Sure. T: Explain to them that that's also part of running the river. (Tom, 572-595, #38)

T: And in later years it got a lot better. And when I was on the Salmon River you could go up there, maybe a private ... goody two shoes or whatever you want to call them, I don't know. But anyway, maybe somebody would be a little upset that they'd see a jet boat, you know, but basically it ... it got where it was pretty good. They figured it out. I: And do you think that that's -- I mean, you -- it sounds like you notice a difference then between certain, say, commercial outfits and then the private floaters as to where most of that comes from, most of that animosity? T: Oh yeah. And then -- then you go around the corner, maybe a mile behind these guys, here's another outfit. And this guy, he's -- he says, oh, here comes Ol' Tom. Get out your cameras, we'll take pictures of him running -- God, people were grabbing their cameras and they're all waving at you and laughing. I: Yeah, yeah. T: Having a good time, you know, and you stop and chat with them and stuff, and they're all having a blast. (Tom, 598-616, #39)

T: Well, of course, they need to do something about the weeds (Tom, 875, #40)

T: I don't really think that's where they should get their financing. And it's going to cause some hard feelings, you know. And like I told -- I was talking with -- three percent we had to pay on our hunters and stuff, you know, I told them, I said, that's going to cost you more to collect it than you'll get, and they knew that. Orders come from above. I: Yeah. T: They knew it was just a pain in the ass for the people who were out there at the time. They don't like to get dinged every time you do something ... spoils the experience. (Tom, 886-896, #41)

We pay taxes already and the forest belongs to us, the people. I think we're already taxed enough. I think they can take their money out of the general fund and just let all of the population pay for it. It's there for everybody if they want to use it. (Tom, 906-909, #42)

Club Membership

I: Are you a member of any of the jet boating clubs? T: We joined the Western Whitewater Association. S: I think that was the last thing he did. T: We joined that, but I never have attended a meeting or anything. I: Yeah, okay. Did you have any specific reasons for joining at the time, or just ... T: Well, they're having problems now with the [inaudible] Snake River and stuff and they just needed another member [inaudible] (Tom, 722-735, #43)

I: So it was kind of to support the common causes and so forth. Okay, okay. Do you have a feel for what that particular group, what their primary purpose is? Is it for that kind of thing, to have political clout, or is it just in general education, or social function, or ... T: Well, I haven't been around them that much, but I think it would probably be a little bit of all of that. (Tom, 739-744, #44)

Safety

Learning

T: The guy that owned the boat had only been down here just a little ways. He's one of them that's learning and he's being real cautious. I: Sure. T: He just goes as far as he knows and he tries to learn a new rapid each time, get a little bit farther. T: And that's the way to do it. (Tom, 218-227, #45)

I: Is -- can someone who's, you know, learned a lot, you know, learned and spent a lot of time on, say, the Snake or another river, take that experience and automatically go to the Salmon and expect to be successful, or vice versa? T: Well, it'll help them. Any kind of experience will help you. But it won't necessarily make you a good Salmon River boater if you're a good Snake River boater, and it won't necessarily make you a good Snake River boater if you're a good Salmon River boater. With anything. Any good experience, you know, where you learn to drive a boat is sure to help you. (Tom, 394-403, #46)

I: When you're teaching somebody how to run the river, is it -- do you generally do that by having -- by having someone ride with you and vice versa? Or do you ever have people -- do people follow you up there as well? Knowing that you know how to run the river so well, do they just say, look, I'm going to follow you, follow behind you for a while. How does that usually happen? T: Well, you can -- you can have them follow you if the waters really good, and there aren't any, too many hazards. But if you really got some tight boating to do, they ain't got a chance behind you. You can't get too close to a guy because your wake wipes out a lot of the indicators in the water and you can't read it. ... and you get lost back there and you get a whole smooth thing here but may still be rocks and stuff in there. I don't like to follow somebody myself. I: Okay. T: I'd rather have a guy ride with me and show him. (Tom, 911-930, #47)

Hank

Personal History

H: Well, we used to do a little boating with outboards. I: Oh, yeah. On the upper Salmon or -- H: Well, you could up above Riggins a little bit. I: No kidding? Okay. Wow. H: Yeah. [In the] '50s you could take Mercury motors because they were getting 50 horse out of a same size engine as you could a 35 Evinrude. So we used to do a little up in there with plywood boats. But it was pretty spooky. In fact, you could do more there than you could the lower Salmon because the lower Salmon they have what they call the Eye of the Needle, and it's where the river's pushed together and it comes down a chute and we had one experience there that knocked the windshield out and got caught in one of those rollers. ... Filled the boat full. ... But... we did a lot of stupid things in those '50s. (Hank, 282-314, #1)

Salmon Unique

That Salmon, you know, that country doesn't forgive. ... I mean topographically it doesn't forgive. It's -- if you're a foot in that canyon, why, it's somewhere between no man's land and hell. I'll tell you, I've hunted sheep in there and it's -- it's tough. (Hank, 778-794, #2)

... in the early days it was the River of No Return. That's basically what it is, you know. You could come down it but you couldn't get back up it. And... a person has to, you know, respect it for that. It certainly makes you more conscious of litter and picking up everybody else's trash. (Hank, 330-343, #3)

And the rocks in that river are newer than in the Snake. They are sharper. ... Bigger and sharper than they are on the Snake. I: Oh, okay. So that -- that basically means you've got to be a lot more careful than -- H: Yes, yes, very much. ... They're sharp enough that they could rip a hole. (Hank, 254-277, #4)

I would say that experience on the Snake would be pretty difficult to transfer over to the Salmon. Just because you could run the upper Snake doesn't mean that you could run the Salmon by any means. ... On the Salmon you've got to read the water better because it ain't as big. And ... on the Salmon you can't just turn around and get the heck out of there because there ain't room in a lot of those areas. (Hank, 730-741, #5)

H: It's a pretty narrow river and I would say that you would have to have -- from a one to ten that you'd have to have at least an experience of a five. I guess, on that scale you'd have to be an intermediate at least. It's no place for beginners. (Hank, 676-689, #6)

H: Now, I haven't heard of -- of any boats going to the bottom of the Salmon as I have the Snake by a long ways. I: Yeah. It's a lot more common in the Snake to lose boats? H: Oh, yeah, because you've got more people and you've got people at different levels of ability ... But I think that people respect the Salmon more than they do the Snake. (Hank, 748-758, #7)

I: Is there something about the Salmon that kind of sets it apart from other places that you've been, that makes it more special maybe ...? H: Yeah. It's a lot narrower gorge. I mean, everything is close to you. There's... really not much shore, I guess you'd say, because the canyon is so steep and the gorge is so narrow. So chances of seeing animals in the evening or early morning is greater due to topographical composure, you know, of the whole canyon. (Hank, 236-253, #8)

Experience

Wildlife

I: When ... you take your boat up there, what's the ... funnest or the best part of the experience for you? ... H: Well, the whole corridor scenic ... Seeing the sheep and deer, elk, occasional moose. That was - I remember sheep hunting up there. We were down on the Salmon River on the trail that comes -- goes up to, I think, Bargamin Creek and then up over the hill. But anyway, we were hiking along up there and there was a little, kind of a meadow just below the trail, and maybe a half acre, and there was a huge ol' bull moose in there. And I mean, he was huge. In fact his horns were in the regress ... But he had his own private pasture. ... But then there's a lot of -- you can see bear, a lot of bear along that river. Probably a higher bear population than any place in Idaho, I would guess. (Hank, 124-158, #9)

Boating - Respect for River, Skill
Well [boating on rivers] takes quite a lot more savvy of the water, you know. You have to be able to read it and -- Coming down stream is a lot harder to read than going up. A novice can pretty well get up the river, but getting down is where you get in trouble. Flat water is... pretty simple. And you have to know when the rapids and everything, you have to know what the boat will do with what power and how it handles. (Hank, 66-86, #10)

Safety

Learning
I: In terms of, I guess, experience level, what does it take to run the Salmon safely? H: Well, I would say that you would have to go up ... on a boat that the pilot had been up there three or four times. Or you'd have to go with one three or four times to get any idea how to run the Salmon. ... But I wouldn't attempt it without being up there, say, three or four times with someone that knew what they were doing. (Hank, 669-693, #11)

I: It's harder in the later summer then, you're saying? It's more difficult? H: It's harder, you bet on it. ... It takes a different level of skill and -- and the Snake's the same way. On them dry years when you get up above Pittsburgh Landing - it gets spooky up there. (Hank, 708-717, #12)

Wilderness

I: Does the fact that the Salmon runs through a wilderness ... make it any different to you one way or another? H: Well, I think you appreciate it more, you know. I guess you'd say you admire it more or something like that. Or you ... get a certain feel for it because it is... so -- well, it is primitive up the Salmon. You've got Mackay Bar and Shepp Ranch and other ranches along the way, but there's -- in between them there is, you know, a lot of -- which it isn't declared wilderness, but essentially it is wild. (Hank, 317-325, #13)

If the folks that care pick up for the ones that don't, why, we can still maintain that -- that certain prestige that the wilderness has. (Hank, 401-418, #14)

Use Ethic

Well, I think that anyone that could should be able to enjoy that area. I certainly wouldn't want to see it destroyed, you know. It's too pretty. But I think that people should be able to enjoy it. It actually belongs to all of us. Doesn't make any difference it's here in Idaho or Montana or New York City. We still own a certain portion of it and I don't think that we should be cut out of it. ... I like to enjoy our natural resources. But I don't want to destroy them either. (Hank, 375-397, #15)

Well, that's [what to do about keeping areas from being destroyed] tough to really answer. The only way that you could stop the presence of people is lock it up. I mean, any time people go in, why, there's going to be a certain amount of presence, whether it's a candy wrapper or Pepsi Cola can or a beer can. And you can't have both, no presence [and] being able to enjoy it ... That's the way I feel about it. If the folks that care pick up for the ones that don't, why, we can still maintain that -- that certain prestige that the wilderness has. (Hank, 401-418, #16)

Access
You know, and particularly some older people or people that have crippling disabilities, the only way they can enjoy it IS on a boat. That Salmon, you know, that country doesn't forgive. (Hank, 773-778, #17)

And basically the only way that handicapped people can enjoy it is -- is by boat. And a lot of other people boat, women and kids and things like that ... today I wouldn't be able to go after that ram that I did in 1995. So, wouldn't even attempt it. (Hank, 799-805, #18)

Other Users

Because you never really see many private boats on there. Although there was one there at the Whitewater Ranch, didn't belong to them, that was on a trailer when I was in there. They left it in there all winter, when I was in there fishing in February. And there were trailers at Mackay Bar when I was sheep hunting in there in 1995. So there are some private people, but -- I spent ten days in there hunting and I don't remember seeing any boat other than one of the ranches. ... and we were usually within sight of the river nearly every day. ... I don't think it's used that much by non-commercial. (Hank, 835-851, #19)

Well, the private float groups are great. The guided float groups are -- the biggest share of them are butts. Now, ... in the Snake, ... you come down through the rapids and they'd tie their rafts all together so that a jet boat ... can't even get by them. ... one of them [a commercial group] that really irked me, ... They had four rafts abreast ... maybe it was five, and they had an outboard on one of them and they were blocking the whole cotton picking river. ... that's the kind of stuff that happens. ... I'm not saying that the jet boats operators are [all] angels because there's some of them that aren't.... There's quite a lot of animosity on either side. (Hank, 578-601, #20)

I: Now, you said the private groups have been by and large pretty good. H: Pretty good. It seems to be the guided ones. ... There was one, ... that was the big instigator in the whole thing and he's not a truthful person, somewhat obnoxious. ... knew the right people in the right places. ... gets by with stuff that there should be some penalties for. (Hank, 607-624, #21)

Salmon Self Limiting

H: ... [on] the Salmon River, they seem to be more congenial with the floaters and the jet boats. Of course, there's not as many jet boats on the Salmon. ... And, well, I have never seen any animosity by rafters toward jet boats on the Salmon. Never have. Or vice versa. But there's ... a different type people on the Salmon in the jet boats too than some of them that are on the Snake, and some of them on the Snake are not very nice people. I: ... do you have any idea what the difference might be -- H: Well ... nearly anybody can go up the Snake. And when the ... the Corps of Engineers had the markers out, why, if you had a map, ... anybody could make it up there. And, like I say, some of them, of the jet boaters, weren't very nice and along with all this animosity, why, they've done some things that they shouldn't do. But I've never seen or heard of it on the Salmon personally. (Hank, 630-665, #22)

Decision Making

H: I think the Forest Service decisions are made well above the local offices, and those people have no idea what goes on. ... That's my personal feeling. And sometimes I feel sorry for the local Forest Service people because they've got to take the brunt of it and they've got to tell them, well, this is the decision. And I don't believe that some of the decisions are made with all of the facts that are presented to them.... I: Do you think then maybe with respect to jet boat users, that they don't have all the information, they don't know really? H: It's given to them and I would say for some reason they don't view all of it. (Hank, 551-564, #23)

Club Membership

Political

H: I came down -- back down to Lewiston in 1986, so it would have been in 1987 when I joined the club here. I: What were your reasons for joining at the time, if you remember? H: Well, it's a club that basically runs the rivers and I just ... felt that they need all of the support they can. And I've given what little I can give for support. And they pretty much keep you abreast of different issues, river issues, and if you're going to participate, why, you better know what's going on, you know. (Hank, 451-464, #24)

Service

I: Do you think the club in terms of its -- kind of its main purpose, is it education or is it ... a social gathering kind of thing, or maybe a little bit of each or ... H: It's education and also they do river cleanup on both the Clearwater and the Snake. And there's a certain amount of social and when they do the cleanups, why, there's always a barbecue and stuff like that. Prizes for the one that pick up the most trash. And prizes for the one that gets the most unusual and things like that. So it's -- they give back to the river. That's one of the reasons that I belong. I: So it was important to you that the club was doing something -- H: It was functional to, you know, enhance and protect our waterways. Because nobody else does. H: Nobody else cleans up the riverbanks. (Hank, 467-496, #25)

Help Story

It seems to me like that I had an occasion to -- oh, it's been like four years ago. And this was on the Snake where a raft started leaking badly and so we loaded -- deflated the raft, loaded the people and everything on my boat and I brought them down to Hellers Bar, you know. But it was a private group. (Hank, 602-604, #26)

Josh and Steve

Personal History

J: ... we do it all. I mean, we backpack, we take horses, ... we spend at least a week in the Snake River every year on horses. Usually late fall we take the horses and go hunting. And we're always in Hells Canyon with the horses, you know. We take a trip or two every summer, at least one or two trips on boats up there... S: And then raft too. J: And raft too. We've rafted it too. ... S: You look in our basement, I have something for everything. [laughter] (Josh and Steve, 451-464, #1)

Salmon Unique

I: Does that part of the Salmon then have any kind of special significance or meaning to you? ... S: Well, I like it better just because ... you don't have like as many rafters and stuff up there. Nothing against rafters because I'm a rafter, I have a raft. But it's just -- I'm going to say more private, more secluded. J: No, I like all the rivers. S: We have different places all over that we like and to pick a favorite would be impossible. ... I like the whole state. (Steve and Josh, 266-283, #2)

I mean, they're people that really enjoy that river, and I don't think the Forest Service realizes how much those people like and love that area. And that's why they spend all that money on that boats and dedicate, a portion of their wages all year long to keep that boat. They're expensive to run, they're expensive to keep, they're expensive to buy, and that's what those people do. They love that area. (Josh, 115-117, #3)

S: And you get up on that upper Salmon River -- J: Oh, you're a hundred miles from no where, literally. S: You get fifteen, twenty miles down below Corn Creek and now you get hurt ... J: You got to get through the Whitewater Ranch before you can get out. S: and if there's not a jet boater, yeah, you're in trouble. J: And it's almost another twenty to Mackay Bar from there. S: Sure. J: I mean, you know, you're talking a day or two to get anywhere. S: You could die of a simple wound. (Steve and Josh, 652-668, #4)

S: There's not as many people. Josh: Yeah, there's hardly any people. There's a big rock in Mallard Creek Falls that's pretty cool to go by. J: ... There's a lot of wild sheep. You see sheep in the winter and late fall you can see a lot of mountain sheep, big horn sheep from the boat. S: Yeah. You don't have as many drivers can go up there as lower, so you get fewer chances to go up there. (Steve and Josh, 229-244, #5)

Experience

Boating - Respect for River, Skill

J: That's a really technical river. S: Yeah, way more technical .... J: You're not going to find your every day jet boater on that river, not very long anyway. [laughter] J: They'll either get good or they'll be gone. S: Yeah. ... that's the thing about jet boats that most people respect. Know their -- they know their limits. It's like flying. The people usually know their limits and don't try to do something they can't do. It's just something you don't do. (Steve and Josh, 742-758, #6)

They got to know what they're doing or they won't last on the river. ... I mean, it's just a fact. I mean, they're people that really enjoy that river or they wouldn't stick their neck out sometimes like they do to get up there. (Josh, 109-111, #7)

Access

I: What initially got you interested in jet boating? J: Just the recreation, the fishing. S: Fishing ... and sightseeing. J: Like I say, you know, we have full-time jobs, 50, 60 hour a week jobs and you can't just take off for a week any time and go. We can take a two or three day and make a mini vacation out of it like that, and it's real nice to be able to go up the Snake River and the Salmon for a couple of days and get away from it all. (Josh and Steve, 48-59, #8)

I: In your experience, how is jet boating on whitewater different than other types of boating that you've been involved with? ... S: Oh, the whitewater? Well, it's not so much as whitewater itself, it's the boating, it's the area. You can see, you know, that's an area that you can't drive to or anything. (Steve, 96-104, #9)

I: When you go on one of those trips, is there one part that kind of stands apart from the rest as far as being the best part or the trip? ... J: It's kind of an adventure. S: The whole thing, and I'd have to say ... to get to see that country, because that's the only way you can see that country unless you horseback for three days in there or something. J: Well, it's nice to go up there. You can go up there in late fall ... there's a couple of access roads in there that are snowed in, are hard to get into, and you can go up there in a boat and you can hunt and fish. J: And there's some pretty awesome rocks and rapids, you know. It's just -- S: Gorgeous. J: It is pretty. (Josh and Steve, 136-137, #10).

Wilderness

Characterization

I: ... does the fact that ... the Salmon runs through a wilderness, does that make a difference to you one way or the other? J: No, it doesn't to me. S: I think that's why it's unique you can go up there because, you know, it's like the Darby Road or something. You have all that but you can still have access to it. But you still don't really touch it. I think that's the nice part about it. I: Okay, okay. So it does make it ... a little bit different in that respect then. S: Yeah, I would say it makes a difference. There's no ranches or anything like on the Snake and stuff. (Josh and Steve, 247-263, #11)

They want us all to sleep at night feeling good that the wilderness is out there, and the forest, but we can't touch it. Look but don't touch. Now they're not even going to let us look at it. (Steve, 618-620, #12)

Use Ethic

I guess it's the part of just being limited. Everything's being limited so much and ... personally I don't see where the congestion's that bad. I've been on the river for years and I've yet to see a real problem with congestion on the river. (Josh, 64-66, #13)

J: I've floated the middle fork of the Salmon River about five years ago-- S: Well, I was there and it's busier than the main Snake.... J: The middle fork of the Salmon's very busy. But what I'm saying is ... what is it? Fifteen, 16,000 a year on it, something like that now? That's the most clean, prestigious river I've ever been on. Everybody picks up their own stuff. I mean, you can't tell ... anybody's been there. It's gorgeous. I don't think they're overusing it, I really don't. (Josh and Steve, 524-550, #14)

S: I've never once had a negative thing boating or rafting or anything on the Snake or the Salmon I can think of. J: No, I can't either. Most everybody on the river's real friendly. S: Real friendly. ... I mean, we've had water fights. If I'm in a raft or if I'm in a jet boat we've pulled up beside and had water fights with them. [laughter] No, I mean, it happens all the time. J: Yeah, you usually start them, but ... [laughter] Steve: ... No, I've never had a negative experience at all down there. Never had anybody yell or -- J: No, I -- on either one of those rivers, I can't think of a single incident that was really a negative incident. I really can't. Most of the -- if you're floating most of the boaters go by and wave, and I've seen rafters pull up and wait for boats to come through a rapid because, you know, you need to get out of the way because when those boats get up through a rapid, I mean, you're committed going up. You can't just stop and turn around in the middle of it. And the floaters know that. We've done the same thing for years. We'll pull over to the side or just back paddle and wait for a minute to come up through. And the same way with jet boats. (Steve and Josh, 678-710, #15)

J: As far as managing the river, well, ... the times we've been up there we just haven't seen enough traffic to warrant limiting jet boat or rafters in the time of year we're going up there. S: Don't fix it if it's not broke. J: Now, you know, rafters could be a problem, I guess, during the summer months. There's a lot of commercial boats and things like that. And maybe during the summer I could see limiting rafting and that kind of thing. But, boy, you know, from the last of August on, there just isn't anybody hardly on that river, in my experience, and I just can't see limiting. ... we're against limiting jet boats or rafting. S: Well, -- J: After the peak of the season. S: The rafters are ... already limited to 25 people ... and stuff. Like I said, don't fix it if it's not broke. J: I just hate to see a limit and limit and keep limiting everybody. I mean, I know they've got to manage, but I just don't feel like they're managing. I think they're just limiting everybody. (Josh and Steve, 327-356, #16)

River Self-limiting

J: On ... the upper Salmon, there's got to be days or weeks there isn't even a boat go up that upper stretch. S: Not above the south fork. J: It's just -- it's rough running. I: So that's what limits that, in your opinion? J: Oh, sure, the water level... I: So no matter what they did in terms of regulations, the river would -- S: The river limits it, sure. The river ... regulates who goes where. J: Water level. The guys that are good know the river and run it quite a bit. They know where the rocks are. ... But ... there isn't a handful of them up there. (Josh and Steve, 71-93, #17)

Equitable Distribution/Selfishness

J: I have a feeling there's probably one or two outfitters that are floaters, not jet boaters, that are probably trying to [limit jet boating] on the Salmon River. ... S: They want it all to themselves. J: That's pretty much being pretty selfish.... And here you are, limiting jet boaters, which there's very few areas that you can jet boat. You can raft every river there is. I just don't understand how they can do that. S: That's exactly right. You can raft every river in this state. J: There's not a river closed to rafting. S: You can only jet boat two rivers in the summer time, Snake and Salmon, and that's it. And they want to limit that. (Josh and Steve, 482-499, #18)

S: See, that's a [the Middle Fork of the Salmon] river if they don't want to listen to jet boats, they can float that river. There's tons of rivers like that, the Selway, Lochsa. Of course, the Lochsa has a road by it but the Selway don't. But the Snake and the Salmon is the only place that jet boaters can go and they're just trying to edge them out. (Steve and Josh, 551-555, #19)

But if -- but these outfitters should tell these people before they come that this river is open to jet boats and ... if you want a pristine river, you should go with an outfitter that is not on a river that has jet boats, because some people don't care. Some people just want to float Hells Canyon or float the Salmon River and a jet boat doesn't bother them. (Josh, 644-645, #20)

Commonsense in Planning

J: But there's no common sense in the way the Forest Service does this stuff.... -- they'll take people that aren't even familiar with an area and they'll put them in there as a ranger .... Somebody from New Jersey has no idea what it takes to manage a forest in the Pacific Northwest. I don't care how many books they read. You need some common sense and some practice and a lay of the land.... It's kind of a hands-on deal and the way these Forest Service people turn over sometimes, two or three years they're gone and another one's in, and they don't have any continuity. Everything changes every time somebody else comes in, the forest takes millions of years to evolve and they got somebody changing their policy every two or three years. It just doesn't work.... take a management philosophy for the Nez Perce National Forest or the Clearwater National Forest, ... within those huge boundaries you've got all these different situations. I mean, you might have a northfaced cedar slope. The other side might be a south slope yellow pine slope. ... you got to manage them different. ... S: ... They don't manage it that way.... but like you said, a lot of the reasons is somebody's here for three years and then they're moving up the ladder and .... I: So in that sense, the managers themselves need to spend some time in -- you know, for this example, say, spend some time going down the Salmon, getting to know the people and the issues and then stay there for a while. J: Yes. Well, I think they should do some counting and really see if there's that much use up there to limit boats. (Steve and Josh, 876-958, #21)

S: And I'd almost say the same people run the same part of the river every year.... That's the thing. The place where there's not very many jet boats, there's way more of them down towards -- the closer you get to Lewiston, you know, that lower Snake down there, there's a lot more jet boaters down there. But they want to limit up where there's hardly any, where the technical stuff is, where there's few anyway. See, it just doesn't make sense. (Steve, 759-773, #22)

Safety

Learning

S: If a guy's running a boat all his life up the Snake River, he probably will run the Salmon River. But they got to go up with somebody first that's did it. You can't just -- your first time you can't go up the Salmon River. You got to go a few times with a guy. ... J: Everybody that I know that's run the Salmon River always goes with somebody that's got experience and they follow them. They take them up, they'll set and look at a rock or a rapid, then they'll go up through it and they'll watch where they went, and then they follow them. And it takes years to learn it. S: And that's after they've been up there with them in a boat. Josh: Yeah. Nobody just gets in a jet boat and goes up the Salmon River. (Steve and Josh, 785-802, #23)

Help Story

S: But most of the floaters don't like it (limitations) either because they save two or three lives a year down there, the jet boaters do. (Steve, 602, #24)

J: A lot of people I know -- that's a safety blanket for some of these people. Older people, young children -- I mean, somebody gets hurt and a jet boat can get you out of there in just a few hours. (Josh, 646-647, #25)

Andy

Experience

Family

A: ... we go at different times for different things ... [if] we take our family it's more for sight-seeing, I have two girls and don't have any boys so it's more for sight-seeing and swimming and stuff with them. (Andy, 36, #1)

Fishing

I: What originally got you interested in jet boating? A: I don't know, fishing, I guess. ... everybody likes to go into the back country, to access the back country to fish and hunt. (Andy, 15-22, #2)

During the colder times I go hunting and fishing. I work during the summer so there's not much time then. In the winter time when the ice isn't there, if you get there right after the ice goes out the fishing's good, you don't have much competition, it's just the guides and landowners really, they're the only people who are there. Then late in the fall it's real nice because it's the same thing, it's the guides and the landowners. You get to learn the holes and stuff. I used to bank fish off the Salmon down around Riggins, but between the guides with their drift boats and increased number of fishermen along the bank, it's pretty tough. You have to get there at daylight and you may not get the hole you were thinking of, then as soon as you change holes, somebody's been there. First water means a lot when you're catching steelhead.... we have a cabin up there so we can start in at Mackay Bar and fish down, the guides start at the bottom end and fish up and we've already had first water on some of them holes up there where they've had them on the bottom. (Andy, 37-48, #3)

I: Are you generally the operator, or it sounds like you also may run right along with some folks as well? A: If I can ride with somebody I will because you get more fish in a jet boat and an operator doesn't get much fishing in. (Andy, 11-13, #4)

Boating - Respect for River, Skill

I: This is a question that may seem real elementary but how is jet boating on white water different than other types of boating? It's definitely more challenging. It's a lot harder. I'm also a pilot and for a long time it was easier to fly than it was to run that boat. Now it doesn't bother me. In the learning process, I think it's harder to learn to run a jet boat than it is to be a pilot. (Andy, 28-31, #5)

Access

I: You mentioned not necessarily going as much in the summer. Is that part of the reason, like you said, because of permit control deal that you can't just pick up and go when you want. A: Well, I run business and you've got kid stuff going on so actually you only know about a week in advance. You keep saying, "we need to go, we need to go." And then finally you say, "well, let's go this weekend." So then we go. It's a matter of time. (Andy, 94-99, #6)

We used to go [on the Snake] in August all the time. [Now] you got to get a permit and stuff and we're not sure what weekend we're going to go because we have to work around the fair and 4-H and all this kid stuff. So we're not doing that anymore. (Andy, 86-88, #7)

Well, this might be true, most of the jet boaters own their own businesses and its a matter of time. I know that people that float and jet boat both. And I've done it. I like to float, but only if I got enough time. And usually it's a matter of time. If I had a week, it'd be nice. (Andy, 214-218, #8)

Salmon Unique Characteristics

I: Is there something about the Salmon that makes it different from other places? A: You mean the Salmon itself? Not really, no. Not as far as backcountry goes ... it's just one of the only places you can get a boat. There's only 2 where you can do white water boating [Snake and Salmon] ... it's where you go. I want to pick where I go. I: So it would still be important, the type of place that you're going. A: Not necessarily just where we're going, we know the areas and we keep going back the same way, just like when we were logging, the crew would always go where we're working to hunt, to get their wood, pick huckleberries and mushrooms and anything else. ... I: And by that, the fact that you know the area, that makes it special more than anything? A: Yeah, it's like steelhead fishing, you gotta know the water, know the holes and where the fish live. You can go to a new stretch of water and if you haven't fished it, it takes you a while before you start catching fish. You have to know where the fish live. (Andy, 101-106, #9)

I: In terms of experience in general, can you take what you learn on the Salmon and automatically go and run the Snake successfully and vice versa? A: No, you can't. The difference is the Salmon's got rocks and the Snake's got hydraulic power, big water, and it's an entirely different river. (Andy, 339-342, #10)

Wilderness

Characterization

I: Does the fact that that section of the Salmon up there runs through a wilderness ... make a difference to you one way or the other? A: Oh, it probably makes some difference because you don't have the competition with other fishermen and stuff. Yeah, it would probably make some difference. Not a wilderness per se, if it wasn't a wilderness but [still] wasn't a roaded, you know, that wouldn't make any difference. If there's no access, you have an advantage if you've got access with a jet boat. Otherwise you wouldn't buy a cabin there either. I: So the fact that it's wilderness in quotes isn't maybe a big deal as much as just the fact that it's remote. A: Yeah. (Andy, 128-138, #11)

It's kind of like one guy said, I was flying him in the other day and we were looking at elk, and he says, "Boy, I hope I never get to where I take this for granted." I: So, ... you wouldn't want to take the little details like that for granted, like seeing elk or something? A: Oh, no. We see elk out here in our back yard too. I still like to see them. Everybody likes animals. Everybody's got a dog or cat or horse. (Andy, 52-61, #12)

When you go somewhere like that, there's nothing that makes you madder than to have some guy in a green shirt and badge to walk up to you start telling you what you can do and what you can't do. (Andy, 169, #13)

Use Ethic

I: Do you have any comments in general about the different types of users in terms of floaters and jet boaters and other users in there in terms of what your experience interacting with them has been? A: Well, interacting with them, we've had more trouble with the professional guides than anybody. We haven't had any trouble with the jet boaters and everybody's just trying to be courteous. I've heard of people that got mad at floaters and weren't really courteous, I've never seen it myself. I can understand why, you can only get pushed so far and pretty soon can't take it anymore. (Andy, 198-202, #14)

A: Personally, I feel the Forest Service ... in their draft plan .... they pitted the float boater against the backpacker on the middle fork and the backpacker against the horse person and the float boaters against the jet boaters, not necessarily on the middle fork but on the big river. What they need to do is say, "hey, you guys are all going to be here, you all got to get along." And quit ??? because all that does is leave it open for lawsuits. That's about the way it should be, they should stand up and say, "hey, you guys are all going to be, you all have to get along, you're going to have to share the same area." I think if they did that, I don't think they'd have near the problems we have today. (Andy, 204-207, #15)

I: ... so [the Forest Service is] kind of contributing to the problems? A: I feel they are when they start fitting people into plans. It's just like their draft EIS, there was quite a few comments on this among jet boaters. They made the statement that most of the float boaters were college educated and most of the jet boaters weren't. Well, this might be true, most of the jet boaters own their own businesses and it's a matter of time. I know that people that float and jet boat both. And I've done it. I like to float, but only if I got enough time. And usually it's a matter of time. If I had a week, it'd be nice. I: So did it seem like it was a slam maybe to jet boaters? A: Well, they felt it was, they felt ... that's just like saying most of them are from L.A. and most of them are from Montana. It's like saying like in Idaho, I mean Californians ... they kind of got a reputation for not being the best thing anyways. I: So in that sense maybe they focused on something they really didn't... A: It doesn't pertain to anything. All they're doing is causing trouble... And I know jet boaters, a number of them have a college education also. (Andy, 209-229, #16)

I: If you were given the job of managing that area, what issue do you think would be important to focus on? A: First thing I'd say is there's nothing wrong with it, leave it alone. As far as issues there, there's nothing right now. ... now that the hunting regulations are so fouled up, there's less people hunting and last year there weren't very many. In fact, I didn't see any boats last fall or last spring that weren't landowners. There might be a few during the summer months, but from what I understand, they're having trouble getting permits to run during the summer. I would say that there's no real issue there that needs to be dealt with as far as the Forest Service goes. (Andy, 151-158, #17)

A: [She's] the river ranger and her big thing is garbage, you know. Thinking back 15 years, it's a lot cleaner now than it was 15 years ago. There's people that I see up there that didn't used to pick up their fishing line and their wrapper and stuff. They're all picking them up now, so they've educated people in that way and I think things are a lot better than they used to be. I: Okay, so mainly something has worked in the sense that ... the Forest Service -- A: Well, I think people in general have done it for themselves. In the early '70's when my wife came here, we had several friends that threw their beer cans out the windows and she got them changed. (Andy, 175-184, #18)

A: I think some people in the Forest Service do. I can't say the Forest Service as a whole. I feel they have agendas, some of the people that have agendas, I guess you'd call them hidden agendas, I can pretty well see where they're headed. (Andy, 236, #19)

Club Membership

I: Did you have any particular reasons for joining? A: Well, it seems like if you're a group you have more voice than you do if you're not. (Andy, 273-275, #20)

A: Well, the Alliance is strictly political. It's the fight that, the Snake River Alliance is strictly to fight the deal on the Snake River. Western Whitewater Association, part of it is they have family outings and they have usually one a month which is usually a pretty good deal if you're in the Boise valley. I'm not much for big groups like that, so when they have up here I don't really go I mean its working anyways. The other part is for political. I think originally it wasn't put together for political but it's turned that way. I: Out of necessity maybe? A: I think so. With the Snake River... what they've done on the Snake River and what they're talking about permitting the Salmon here, there's not anyplace you can go. (Andy, 290-300, #21)

Safety
I: When a person's going about learning how to run that river in a jet boat, operating the boat, what's the process they need to go through to insure that they're ready to run that river. A: They need to have someone who knows the river, knows the rapids, to show them. If they don't' do that they're going to have a real difficult time. I: By showing them, do you mean riding along in the boat with them or following behind them? A: They need to be in the boat with them and stuff. (Andy, 326-333, #22)

Mitch

Experience

Family Excursions

Occasionally there have been times when we just go up and take the family up on an excursion just to look at the country basically. (Mitch, 30, #1)

[On his most recent trip, his brother-in-law] was staying at Shepp Ranch that weekend and so I took [my wife] and the kids, we drove up on Saturday morning, met him at Vinegar Creek and went up. They had never been up to Shepp Ranch. Took them up to Shepp ranch, looked around there, looked around the Polly Bemis and then came home and drove back home that night. Just an excursion, you know. (Mitch, 50-53, #2)

Access

... most of the trips I take on a jet boat are because of hunting to get back and forth to where we hunt. (Mitch, 16-18, #3)

Well, for me, the hunting is the thing. Let me put it this way, I certainly enjoy the jet boating and the overall trip would probably lose something were it not for getting up through the rapids and that kind of thing, but it wouldn't spoil the trip for me if we didn't jet boat in. It definitely adds something to it because it's not, at least where we go and the way we hunt, it's not something that everybody does. It's not something that everybody's capable of because not everybody's going to lay out $25 or $40,000 for a boat and camp in the way we do, so it's a part of what makes it special for us, but it still is primarily the camping and the hunting, the reason I go anyway. (Mitch, 36-39, #4)

Boating - Respect for River, Skill

And there is a certain, I guess, thrill, I mean that's not a very good word, I guess, but trying to figure out where to go through the rapids and what's there and what's not and how the river is different from where it was before. There's a certain interest there. It's an interesting thing. It's different, there's no question about it! (Mitch, 22-25, #5)

The problem is, no matter how much you know about where you're supposed to go in that river, the river doesn't always necessarily let you go there. Those hydraulics in that river, it's powerful. It's real powerful. I relate it a lot to like flying. I used to be a pilot, I haven't been current for twenty years, but it's a lot the same thing. You've got to be on that all the time. You've got to know what you're doing. In fact, in a jet boat, you can get in trouble faster than you can in the air a lot of times. (Mitch, 178-185, #6)

Salmon Unique Characteristics
I: ... does the Salmon itself up there have any special meaning to you ...? M: Well, it's not like I grew up on it or anything like that. There's other places that you could ask me about in Idaho that I could say, yeah, absolutely. (Mitch, 94-97, #7)

... it has a certain, there's a certain thing about it that's real special. At least in Idaho, there isn't any other place that I know of that you can go that's quite like that. Most of the rivers ... that would be somewhat similar, the Payette, or the Selway or those kind of rivers, well there's no jet boats which is fine. So, yeah, it's kind of a unique experience in Idaho. (Mitch, 70-73, #8)

On that particular river, I think [jet boats are] part of the culture now. It sounds silly, but I think they are.

(Mitch, 239-240, #9)

It's not like the Snake. The Snake is just big water. The Salmon is real technical water and plus the kind of country it is and the wildlife and that kind of stuff. So, yeah, I would say at least in Idaho it's real unique. I don't know, there may be other rivers, there may be rivers in Alaska. I've heard about rivers up there that are maybe somewhat similar. (Mitch, 70-79, #10)

... when you think about like the history of what's happened on the river and particularly like where we're going with the salmon runs and those kind of things now. When you look back and ... just think what's happened on this river, the fish that've been caught and that kind of stuff and now it's real sad. That's another whole issue, when it comes to the salmon issue. That's something I just think's just really important. (Mitch, 102-105, #11)

So, yeah, it's kind of a special place for me. It's not like I grew up there or something like that but yeah, it's something that is something that I go back to every year and I envision that I probably will every year. (Mitch, 106-107, #12)

Wilderness

Characterization

I: Does the fact that the Salmon runs through a wilderness area up in that section ... make a difference to you one way or the other? M: Oh yeah. I mean it does because ..., at least for us, it gets back to this hunting thing where those are backcountry units and the hunting seasons are different and not as much pressure and that kind of stuff. Plus the fact that - I mean it's just not the same for me to go through an area when you're hunting or looking for wildlife or whatever, you know, if there's roads along the river bank, why would you be on the river? It takes away from the experience. So, yeah, it makes a difference. (Mitch, 86-92, #13)

Awareness of Socio-cultural Presence

You know it's kind of almost like a little community. When you're standing there on the river bank and somebody says, oh yeah, Joe Blow from the Polly Bemis or whatever they got some hunters in this week. It's kind of a little community out there and it's kind of meaningful. (Mitch, 98-101, #14)

But again, I think now [jet boating is] kind of part of the culture up there. I've been up there in times - see like in the fall when we hunt up there it's the tag end of the hunting season so there's a lot of people there, it's the tag end of steelhead season, it's a busy place for jet boats, not many rafters, of course, but for jet boats it's a real busy place and I've never seen it really be a problem. I just don't see it. It just has not been a problem. I think I'm probably as sensitive to that as anybody anywhere, so anyhow, that's my opinion on things. (Mitch, 248-252, #15)

Use Ethic

Shared Use/Equity

... let me put it this way, I don't think that jet boaters hurt the experience at all up there, I really don't. And I can say that because I've done a fair amount of rafting too. You've got the Middle Fork and you've got the Selway and you've got other rivers like that that totally exclude jet boats, which I think is a good idea. Even if you drive a jet boat up the Middle Fork, it's not a good idea, you don't want them in there. That's the way it's been. I think that's the way it should always be. As the main Salmon, I don't think that should change. There may be conflicts in the summer, but I think I would rather see them figure out a way to deal with those conflicts and either limit the numbers of rafters and boaters or something like that, rather than just throw the jet boaters off of the there. On that particular river, I think they're part of the culture now. ... I'm an avid environmentalist but having said that, I don't think that's the place to impose a complete status of throwing the jet boaters out of there or making it so limiting. (Mitch, 231-242, #16)

... there's some talk about limiting the number of people in the jet boat parties or something like that, I think. To me whether one jet boat comes up the river or five of them come up the river at a time really doesn't make a lot of difference because there's that period of time where you hear the noise of the motors and then they're gone. Now, whether that's one or five, doesn't really make a difference. I would say this, I wouldn't get too involved in limiting the numbers of jet boats that can go up that river together. Most I've ever seen has been about three anyway. ... I know that they limit the number of rafts together sometimes, but I think it's a pretty big number. (Mitch, 132-138, #17)

... there's got to be some kind of education there, I guess, but no matter how much the forest service gets involved in that, some people are going to be idiots on both sides, whether it's jet boaters or whether it's kayakers, but I guess from my experience, I like the way it is. (Mitch, 132, #18)

I: Do you believe the forest service has any misconceptions about jet boaters? M: Well, I've actually never talked to anybody from the Forest Service. Of course, I know this, a lot of jet boaters think they have misconceptions about them. And maybe the jet boaters have misconceptions about the Forest Service. Of course, the jet boaters, their fear is that they're going to get shoved clear off the river. And maybe that's a misconception and I think maybe not the Forest Service, but I think some people, rafters, those kinds of things, may have a picture of jet boaters as just macho, instead of being on Harley-Davidsons, they're on jet boats and it's all about speed and all that kind of stuff. That really hasn't been my experience. Now, you know, you see a renegade every now and then in anything, but I really never, so far I've really never met any real idiots that run jet boats. I really don't think it's the Forest Service that has misconceptions, I think it's just the Forest Service has a lot of pressures about, bottom line, we got more people using the resource than the resource can stand. (Mitch, 212-221, #19)

Stewardship (see also excerpts #15-16)
I'll say this, the times that I've been up there, the way it's done right now, I think that's pretty good. ... in the summer, I sure think they've got to keep the restrictions as far as the fire pans and the chemical toilets and all that kind of stuff. I just don't see any other way. (Mitch, 126-128, #20)

Salmon Self-Limiting
I honestly think it's kind of a self-limiting thing up there. I really think that you're going to have a certain number of people that want to drive a jet boat up there and a certain number that don't. I know two of them personally, both of them doctors, maybe it is typical, buy a brand new boat, take it up the Salmon one time, slam into a rock, bring it home, that boat's for sale. It's just not what they envisioned. It's not what they envisioned. (Mitch, 243-247, #21)

Club Membership
Service
That is more of just an outing and a lot of them to learn how to run their boats because some guy goes down here and spends $20, $30, $40,000 for a new boat, they typically a lot of them join a club and they want to have someone show them where to go through the rapids ... (Mitch, 170, #22).

Safety
Learning
M: Well, typically, I think it maybe doesn't happen this way for everybody but, like I just described, I think that's pretty typical for a lot of them. They buy a boat and either join an organized club or at least hook up with either friends or family or somebody that has been up there before and then they follow them up through the rapids and learn some things there. For us it was a little different because we had been up and down the river three or four times with outfitters and at one time, I did own part of this one boat that my brother in law bought and we just kind of went up and put the boat in the water and just - the funny part of it is that you go up through, you just kind of pick your way up through there and later on you're talking to somebody that really knows the river and they say, oh no, you can't go that way through that rapid. But I think most people, they ride with somebody that knows what they're doing and then they follow somebody up through there. (Mitch, 174-177, #23)

I: In terms of people that learn to drive the Salmon, can someone take what they know from running the

Salmon, in your view, and automatically be able to successfully run another river or vice versa? M: Yeah, I think so. I think a guy could. I think it's easier to run the Salmon and then go run something else than it would be to run something else and then go run the Salmon. (Mitch, 202-205, #24)

Troy

Experience

I'd say that probably steelhead fishing is one of the high points of the trip. Catching steel head! The fishing part's not so good, it's the catching part! (Troy, 57-58, #1)

I actually go every chance I get and sometimes not even in the fishing season, just to take the ride up the river. In the spring you can see lots of game and lots of bears so there's a wide variety of reasons besides sportsmen types of activities. (Troy, 50-52, #2)

[His most recent rips was] steelhead fishing and some of the guys hunted in some of the areas that were open at the time for deer. Typically nobody really hunts for elk because they're pretty high and would require a several mile hike. In fact, daylight is so short that by the time you get to the top it would be dark. (Troy, 64-68, #3)

Some of it's the social hour too. You see another boat and you pull over and visit with the people. It's what we call river time, it's where time slows way down and in order to do something back there it's pretty much manual labor so everything's done kind of the hard way and it's also a pretty good social time. It's a good escape from our fast lane life in the world here. (Troy, 84-87, #4)

Access

I: What got you interested in jet boating? T: Actually our interest is the back country in Idaho. And we started off about 18 years ago by using airplanes and flying into remote spots. We started at the Middle Fork of the Salmon and we'd go back in late fall for a deer hunt and then later we went to Big Creek drainage for a few years and then ultimately we ended up, when some of the boys got equipment, we ended up with jet boating. Currently we use boats to get some of the people up, the gear up, on our annual trip and we also use airplanes which haul gear and passengers. (Troy, 18-22, #5)

Well, I think the easiest way to describe it is the fact that we grew up in this environment and we spent a lot of time fishing and hunting locally. And then maybe part of the deal was that as we were growing up and seeing other people in our fishing areas then, we just moved outward a little bit. So probably part of the thing is just a little bit of an escape from lots of people. However, the Salmon now is getting fairly busy. (Troy, 104-106, #6)

I think basically, part of the thing about jet boating too is the ability to go up the river, so I think part of it is being able to run the river as a highway to get to places where a lot of people can't go. I think that Jimny and some of the guys who have equipment recognize that and they actually do their best to take people from older folks from around the community that we maybe know from a long time ago and people that just can't otherwise get up there. That's true with not only the jet boats but also the airplanes. And share that a little bit. (Troy, 152-156, #7)

Salmon Unique Characteristics

I: Okay, is there something about the Salmon River, especially that upper portion there, that makes it different from other places you've been? T: Actually there is, it's pretty remote, of course it's roadless so it's pretty remote country and the scenery from the river even is really, really nice because you can see rock formations that jet right out of the river straight up into the air sometimes for about 500 feet. There are some old ranches, for example, along the river and sand bars. (Troy, 80-84, #8)

I think Johnny and I are natives of the area and ever since we were little kids, we've been visiting the back country and always have had an interest in it. (Troy, 93, #9)

Wilderness

Characterization

I: ... in that portion above Riggins, when you're up there, does the fact that you're going through the wilderness make a difference one way or the other? T: Not really. I think Jerry and I are natives of the area and ever since we were little kids, we've been visiting the backcountry and always have had an interest in it. (Troy, 90-93, #10).

Use Ethic

Shared Use

I: ... do you have any particular comments or experiences about the different types of users you've encountered on the river ...? T: I think ours have always been pretty positive due to the fact that when we are on the river, we conduct ourselves just like everybody was our neighbor. So, probably for that reason, ours have been pretty positive. (Troy, 122-125, #11)

If you were managing that area, particularly the river corridor, what issues do you think would be important to focus on? T: I think that probably safety would be a primary concern. That's in reference to, I guess there's always been a little bit of a controversy between the floaters that float down the river and the jet boaters that go up the river. I think that that shouldn't be a controversy because as far as I know there's never been an accident between the two. (Troy, 109-113, #12)

I think probably that [controversy between floaters and jet boaters] comes from somebody having a culture of, one or the other. And maybe more from the floaters, I think that's a bigger population, of feeling more ownership and maybe having a wider audience to share their thoughts about ownership. That's not, that's really not a rational type of judgement because everybody owns it. (Troy, 119-120, #13)

Stewardship

One of the reasons I asked you about the EIS is because we spent a lot of time doing fishing and going back there, ... we take hikes up the hill or along the river and really I haven't seen anything that I'd call impacts from overuse. I haven't seen that on sand bars and/or walking along the river and we're kind of - I guess you can say we have the ability to scrutinize maybe about a 24-30 mile stretch or river going up to Mackay Bar and that's usually where we go up for day trips. I just really can't see any impact. So it really makes me wonder why they're talking about user groups being eliminated from use from the river. I've got to say that maybe I don't sample water or do this or that, but the biggest damage from erosion or from maybe anything that I've seen back there is the river itself. It turns muddy and a rain storm will cause a blow out and it will fill the river full of trees and debris and mud and that's a natural phenomenon, that's not new. (Troy, 164-169, #14)

Safety

Learning

I: How is jet boating on whitewater different than other types of boating in terms of -- T: Jet boating requires a little bit more finesse than regular lake type boating. It is probably a program of learning the river, learning sections of the river, one section at a time until you're pretty well checked out. You have to be checked out to fish at least on the Salmon River or else you're going to hit a rock. (Troy, 28-31, #15)

I: In terms of getting checked out, as you mentioned, ... what's the process that you might go through in getting to that point of proficiency? T: I would say it's a skill that's passed on, so what happens is that the new jet boat interested party rides or else drives with somebody that's an incumbent river runner and I think the process is one of learning a section at a time, maybe a four or five mile section at a time up and down, up and down and getting that coaching from the skilled operator and then going to the next session, so, running it quite a few times and then up the river a little farther and in that process. (Troy, 34-36, #16)

Rick

Experience

I: Okay, what got you interested? R: Friends with jet boats. I like to hunt and fish so we do a lot more on rivers, we wanted to get away from people. (Rick, 19-22, #1)

R: We're not up there for partying, we're up there for a family adventure and we do take the whole family. I: But it sounds like - R: It's business, you're just not up there for partying. (Rick, 130-134, #2)

It's a lot of things, you get out there in the wilderness and the scenery, challenges going up and down that river and going up there with other people. It's a great thing. (Rick, 43-44, #3)

Access

I: So it's real remote in that sense? R: Yes. That's why we have jet boats is to get to those places. (Rick, 76-79, #4)

R: ... weekends or a couple days at a time. We like to get away. ... Most of our free time is in the summer. I: Anything else you want to add? R: Just open it up to a few more trips, you know, for day trips and weekend trips or two day trips. (Rick, 299-308, #5)

Boating - Respect for River, Skill

I've never seen anybody drinking, they just have a lot of respect for that river. (Rick, 129, #6)

Well, as a driver you don't see a lot of the scenery basically, all you're watching is the river, you're concentrating on that, I am, just getting up and down that river. So you're missing out on part of the scenery as far as going up the river. I'm just watching the river. (Rick, 138-140, #7)

Safety

Boating in Groups

... and from my experience being inexperienced, is you need to have other jet boaters around because if you don't, it makes it a lot more dangerous. ... It's a big safety net. Any time you're on a river like that you need to have some safety net. (Rick, 109-118, #8)

I definitely would use it more [if the permits were not so restrictive]. I love to camp and get up there in the summertime if we had permits, but I can't do it by myself. If I had just one permit, I couldn't go. I wouldn't go without a couple, two or three, boats. It's imperative to have that many boats. I: So in that sense, in your view how does the permitting relate to safety? R: It really affects the safety because if you're up there by yourself, it's just not safe no matter how big you are. Had that experience. I: Of breaking down? R: Well yeah. And not knowing the river very well. So that keeps us off the river. (Rick, 205-220, #9)

Learning

R: I drove up but I had somebody in the boat helping me. ... I: ... that kind of relates to my next question ... what is the process that you feel that an operator should go through to learn a river like the Salmon ...? R: ... You'd spend a lot of trips on that river to learn it. ... I think you should go with other people to see what they're doing and have them explain what's going on, how to handle the boat. The first time I was up there, the water was real low and we were out of the boat a lot just walking looking down on the river to see how it was running. Those are good experiences just to see how that river's running through the places. ... I: How do the people show you? Do you have them ride with you or do you follow them or both? R: Both. I: What seems to work better, do you have a feel for that? R: I think it's good to have both. That's what I did when I was, we were following boats and I had a friend in the boat with me. ... So I kind of had the best of both worlds. ... following, that helps a lot. See how they're going through it. It's just not like driving down the road or driving down the highway, it's completely different. (Rick, 242-271, #10)

Club Membership

Education

I: You mentioned the club, the Western Whitewater Association, what were your primary reasons for joining? R: To learn, learn about rivers and how they run them and the rules. You have to have respect for everybody on that river and they point that out. You don't go by rafters or anybody else fast on the river, slow down, just to have a lot of respect for the river. (Rick, 148-152, #11)

R: [Western Whitewater Association's primary purpose is] educational. It's a little bit of everything. Social gatherings, but it's real educational and I've never seen anybody out there littering. People that do that seem to have a lot of respect, probably picking more stuff up than leaving definitely. (Rick, 157-160, #12)

Salmon Unique Characteristics

There are two or three good rapids [in Hell's Canyon] that are hard to go through and you probably don't want to go through them and the rest of it's not bad, where the Salmon River it's a challenge almost the whole time you're on the river. If it's not one thing, it's something else. (Rick, 287-288, #13)

I: ... is there something about it that makes it different other places? ... R: The scenery and there's not a lot of access to the river other than being on the river. ... I: So it's real remote in that sense. R: Yes. That's why we have jet boats is to get to those places. (Rick, 71-79, #14)

I: ... does the Salmon itself have any special meaning to you aside from maybe some other places. R: Well, it's a wild river and I think for Idaho to have a wild river run through it like that, it has a lot of meaning, you know, getting in the back country, you know, seeing the wildlife. (Rick, 102-104, #15)

Wilderness

I: ... the fact that it runs through the wilderness area, does that make a difference to you either way? R: Well, I think it keeps a lot of people out of there. I: Okay, so in terms of just keeping the numbers down? R: Yes. There's not a lot of people coming down in their cars or in boats. I: Does the fact that it's got that "wilderness designation" matter one way or the other to you? R: No. (Rick, 85-96, #16)

Use Ethic

I: If you were given the job of managing that area, what issues do you think would be important to focus on? R: Well I think there should be an equal amount of people, river users on that river, not only rafters, but jet boaters too. I think we have a right to that river and from my experience being inexperienced, is you need to have other jet boaters around because if you don't, it makes it a lot more dangerous. (Rick, 106-109, #17)

Help Story

They're all for safety and would bail anybody out if they're rafters or - it's just this big safety net that I've seen. I: So it's a safety net that's extended to everybody that's up there. (Rick, 227- 229, #18)

Bob

Experience

And so I'm fairly happy with the way things are. The restrictions in the summer time don't affect me a lot because I run the river mostly in the spring, like right now. And so I haven't really paid that close of attention. I just -- I just hate to see more and more restrictions for anybody else, even though I don't use it very much in the summer time. But I do -- would like to use it a couple trips a year in the summer to take our friends on like overnight trips. (Bob, 360-367, #1)

I: When you ... take your jet boat up the Salmon, do you generally go up there for the same reason or do you go up there different times for different things? B: Different times for different things. I: Okay. And what might some of those -- B: In the summertime when the restrictions are on is when I would take like my wife's, say, volleyball or baseball team up for a big party. And then in the off season, in the fall and in the spring when there's not any restrictions on, is when I use it for hunting and fishing. I: Okay, okay. ... when you go up on one of those trips, what's the best part of the trip to you? Or is there one part of the trip that stands out...? B: The whole experience is about the same. ... I like running the river and reading the water and I'm sure the passengers just like to, you know, watch the hillsides and look at the scenery and bighorn sheep or whatever else you might see. (Bob, 41-62, #2)

Boating - Respect for River, Skill

I: ... could [you] describe how jet boating on whitewater is different than other types of boating? B: Oh, there's a lot more to it. You've got to be really on top of it. Your reflexes and watching for rocks and reading the river and it's way more of a challenge. (Bob, 30-34, #3)

But it's a lot of reading the river and knowing where the rocks are just by seeing where the whitewater is and curls and the slicks. And just -- if you're good at reading one river you'll be able to run another one. But then there's always a few rocks you're going to hit because they're sleepers. (Bob, 340-345, #4)

Access

I: When was the last time that you remember being up the Salmon, the upper portion, you know, like Vinegar Creek to Corn Creek? B: I was there the last time, October -- let's say 15th. I can't remember the exact day. I: ... So ... that time of year did you go to hunt that particular trip or -- B: Yes. ... a good friend of mine had a sheep tag and we were -- I was taking his camp down and helping him pack his meat out and stuff. (Bob, 75-83, #5)

Salmon Unique Characteristics

I: So does the Salmon itself, ... that particular river, does it have any special significance to you, or is it -- B: I like the amount of timber and just the right amount of open hillsides to really make a nice experience to -- looking up on the hillsides. And the one side of the river has pretty good timber on it and just the right amount of brush. And also open hillsides to see game. (Bob, 131-135, #6)

I: What is it that makes the Salmon different from other places, in terms of just experience or -- and jet boating in general. B: Just the country that it runs through is different than any other. I: Okay. In terms of being more -- more scenic or more rugged or -- B: Yes, and just being more primitive, away from people. Stuff like that. (Bob, 102-113, #7)

Wilderness

I: Does the fact that it runs through a wilderness make it different to you one way or the other? B: Well, it makes it better. I: It does? Just kind of makes it seem more special or just more primitive in some ways or -- B: Just more away from people. (Bob, 115-124, #8)

Use Ethic

Well, I felt -- I built my boat in '91 and it was finished up -- it was finished in '92. I felt that I had five good years to run it and things would be so restricted that I wouldn't be able to run it anymore. But it's still going pretty good. And it's been, what, about eight years now. (Bob, 350-356, #9)

B: Well, it -- what they're trying to cut out, the jet boaters. And I'm totally not against rafting whatsoever, but I don't like the fact that they're totally against jet boaters. So I think it should be [inaudible] with those. I: Okay. So you would focus on -- and then making those two compatible with each other -- B: Yes. I: So you could still do both? B: With most jet boaters really don't care about seeing rafts or however many there are. In the summer months it gets kind of tricky because there's one right after another. But it really doesn't bother me as much as we bother them, I guess. (Bob, 154-176, #10)

I: So you in general do you have any comments about the rafters? ... B: I don't really have anything against them at all except sometimes they -- they show their dislike for us, like flipping us off or mooning us or something. (Bob, 179-186, #11)

And then in the summer time, I can only speak for myself, but I would like to be able to use the river two or three times in the summer and not have all that much difficulty getting a permit. (Bob, 384)

B: Well, I feel that there shouldn't be any restrictions whatsoever in the colder part of the years when the rafts aren't going to be there, so the jet boaters aren't going to bother them. And then like for right now there won't be any rafters out there, very few, the real hard core ones wearing wet suits. And so I don't feel there should be any restrictions during that time. (Bob, 274-380, #13)

Safety

Learning

B: And you're always learning. You know, I'm still learning. I've been at it a long time. But [to learn] I think you should ride -- they should ride with somebody and learn the river, at least go through the same rapid several times. You don't just go buy a new boat and head up the river, let me put it that way. (Bob, 262-276, #14)

I: What I've heard from some people is sometimes they'll go up in a group of a couple boats and follow each other? ... B: That sometimes doesn't work out very well because you can't see exactly where the boat ahead of you turned. Around which rock or just -- you know, you got to know exactly where they went. And then another thing is the boat ahead removes some of the water, the boat behind will hit the rock. (Bob, 299-310, #15)

Ted

Personal History

I: What kind of got you into jet boating to begin with, that you remember? T: I had a big family with a lot of kids, you know. T: Had to have a big boat. T: We used that in the lake a lot. That was back, you know, when the boats were a little different than they are now. Everybody stood up, with no seats, no tops, you know. No heaters, no stereos. I: Pretty bare bones then? T: Just bare bones, big motor(Ted, 78-98, #1)

T: We've had boats since I was -- since I can remember, before that. You know, we always had boats in the family. And I've always had a boat. I: So you just learned from somebody else? T: Yeah, mostly my dad. Well, my dad was beginning too when we got the first big river boats and was following somebody. You got him on your list .... (Ted, 666-680, #2)

Experience

T: When you've gone [on the upper Salmon], do you go up there kind of for the same thing every time or do you take different trips for different kind of reasons? T: Don't make very many trips up there because, you know, we go up steelheading, just go up mostly, do a lot of eating, you know, and just fishing and just get away. Because I don't even go up in the summer cause it ain't worth the hassle. For the float boaters. It ain't worth the headache. I: Is it -- in terms of them is it -- do they give you grief or what is it about them? T: They're just rude. (Ted, 44-63, #3)

I: Do you run the whole stretch or do you stop below like Ludwig? T: Well, we camp at Warren Creek, which is what? Just guessing, I don't know exactly. But probably three, four miles below Mackay Bar. T: Three miles maybe below Mackay Bar, which Ludwig is just around the corner above Mackay -- I guess it's a mile or so to Ludwig. (Ted, 250-257, #4)

T: I'd love to in the summer if it was open. ... So the reason you wouldn't go up there now is just because -- is it because of the permitting system there or the restrictions against jet boaters, or just the fact that there's so many float boaters on there that kind of makes it -- T: Kind of them all. (Ted, 826-844, #5)

I: So it's a real family kind of thing for you guys. T: Oh, yeah. I'd say they been -- well, they were six the first Salmon River trips they had. Six and seven the first time they went camping up on the Salmon. The Payette, they were three and four their first trip up the Payette. I: How did they seem to like it? T: They love it. I: They love running the rapids and everything? T: Oh, yeah. Faster, Dad, faster. [laughter] I: Do you get more nervous when you have your kids in the boat? T: Oh, yeah. T: That's why, you know, I ain't driving them up the big water. Just little stuff in the Payette, you know, the little Payette, just playing, it's fun. It's not really too dangerous, because we run it in that little fifteen footer. (Ted, 540-579, #6)

Access

Because there's a lot of times you'll get [somebody] saying, let's go, last minute. We ain't got three months to put a permit in, or two months or however long they want. I don't even know how long they want. But you can't decide at the last minute to go like you used to. (Ted, 848-857, #7)

Boating - Respect for River, Skill

It does give you quite the rush. (Ted, 112, #8)

I: Are you generally the one running the boat ... ? T: Well, I got a couple of buddies that never did get out of it, so some of the big water, I go ahead and let them drive, you know. (Ted, 25-27, #9)

T: Low water, you got to ... be a lot better. I mean, the big water can sink you easier, but you don't have to contend with the rocks, which is what sinks you. ... So a lot of the guys ... will only run the Salmon River in high water because it is so boney you've got to have a hell of a memory, which is my problem. I don't have a very good memory. You're running it in low water, you got to know where you're going, especially down river. If you don't know what you're doing you're going to be on the rocks in low water. High water, you can mess up and make it. Low water, you mess up, you're on the rocks, got a hole in the boat. (Ted, 715-730, #10)

Salmon Unique Characteristics

I: What is it about the Salmon that makes it different from some of the other places you've been? T: It's more challenging through the whitewater because it's ... a lot more rocks, you know. I guess it's not so bad running at high water, but I've never been up there in high water. The highest I've ever been in it was -- in the upper Salmon was at 6,000 feet, you know. You've got to pay attention. (Ted, 237-248, #11)

There's a difference between big water, like to run Granite Creek or Rush Creek versus running Vinegar or Ludwig. Ludwig, I mean, you better know what the hell you're doing to get through Ludwig. ... If somebody could run the Salmon River though, they could probably just about run anything. (Ted, 741-744, #12)

I: Being as that you spent a lot of time on the Salmon over the years, does it -- does it have any different meaning to you than any of the other rivers you've been on? ... T: It's a trip we do. ... I can't say it's the best one in the world, but it and Hells Canyon have got to be the two best that I've ever, you know, ever been to. (Ted, 322-333, #13)

Like down in Hells Canyon, I mean, it's different scenery. Some of it's real similar. I mean, in it's own way it's every bit as beautiful as the Salmon River Canyon. (Ted, 287-289, #14)

Wilderness

Characterization

I: Does the fact that the Salmon runs through a wilderness area there ... make a difference to you one way or the other? T: No. You can't tell the difference by looking at it. ... I don't know which -- how far that wilderness goes, you know. Like down in Hells Canyon, I mean, it's different scenery. Some of it's real similar. I mean, in it's own way it's every bit as beautiful as the Salmon River Canyon. (Ted, 268-289, #15)

And that lower section of the Salmon, it's just as neat as the upper section. It's just, you know, it's different in its way. It's a little different but it's just -- that whole thing all the way through there. (Ted, 359-361, #16)

I: You haven't made any other trips just into that general area there? T: I'm not even really sure how big Frank Church Wilderness Area, where it all goes. (Ted, 268-369, #17)

Use Ethic

Shared Use

And you can't have it overrun. I mean, you got to have -- it's getting that many that it's super-congested. Certain months you have to have some sort of permit deal, but make it equal. (Ted, 935-937, #18)

I: If you were managing the area ... what do you think for the Salmon would be the important issues to focus on? ... T: In terms of? I: Managing the river and the different user groups and, you know -- T: Equal it out a little. It's totally off balance. ... In favor of the float boats. (Ted, 388-403, #19)

T: What have we got? What is it, 35 whitewater rivers in the western United States and they've got 34, or 31 of them or something shut down to us. (Ted, 422-424, #20)

T: You know, we don't need a permit to go up there in the winter because float boats don't want to go up there then. And when it's super high water they don't want to go up there either because they're scared to run it. But then when it gets nice weather we can't go up there. (Ted, 407-410, #21)

I: So is there anything else that you wanted to bring up that you think should be said? ... T: Not much. Mostly just equality. I mean, I don't care about the float boaters, but, like I say, there's only one of us can go and twenty of them can. There in different sets of rules. One set of rules for everybody. (Ted, 920-930, #22)

Help Story

T: But who do they call when they need help? ... Don't call a kayak to come rescue somebody that's stranded up on the river, you know. I: So in that sense does it seem like jet boaters are getting a bad rap because -- T: They only want us when they need us. Just like in Hells Canyon, same way. They want to jet back. They'll float down. Want the jet boats off the river, but when they get to the bottom when want a jet boat to haul them back up to the rig. ... And when they get hurt they want a jet boater to haul them back to safety for free. ... They live on a one-way street, you know. (Ted, 425-452, #23)

Stewardship

T: We always took care of the river. We never left garbage in the river. Never have, you know. Always pack out more than I pack in because the last float boaters left their tin cans laying there. Every time I've ever come out of the river you pack out twice as much as you brought in. I: So in that sense you feel that the jet boaters are taking care of it? T: Always have. You got a bad apple in every crowd, but as a general rule jet boaters always pack out all their junk. They don't go up and make a mess. Want to go back next week or next month or whenever, you know, and don't want a mess to go back to. (Ted, 789-811, #24)

Relationship With the Forest Service

I: In terms of the, I guess, the Forest Service doing business up there ... what in your opinion would have to happen or would they have to do for you to regain a little confidence in them? ... [laughter] T: Go home. [laughter] (Ted, 777-782, #25)

I: In your opinion, do you think the Forest Service has any misconceptions about jet boaters? T: I don't really even know what their opinion is. I know they're trying -- they trying to close everything down for everybody. Or not everybody, but everybody with motorized, you know. Like digging those pits on the snowmobile trails. Have you heard about that? ... they were digging pits off the sides of the trails so snowmobilers, if they went to leave the trail they're going to crash and get hurt. (Ted, 610-627, #26)

I: In terms of knowing what's going on the river, do you think the Forest Service has a good handle on that, or maybe some people in the Forest Service do but other don't, or -- T: That's probably -- like the guy that used to be down -- one of the Forest Service rangers that manned the boat. He was in the river, you know. He was -- actually he was a river runner. He knew what was going on. And now, they just take some college boy from California and throw him in there. ... I: ... What about folks higher up making the decisions. ... T: I'd say they're probably all idiots. (Ted, 900-917, #27)

Club Membership

Political

I: Now, you're a member of the Western Whitewater Association? T: Yes. I: When did you join that group? T: Just last year. ... I: What were your primary reasons for joining the group? T: Now, I'm not -- you know, I don't have time to participate in much group stuff, but mostly be a number. I: In terms of to have more like political clout then? T: [Nod.] ... My little -- my kids, my seven and eight year old are members too. (Ted, 494-521, #28)

Safety

Learning

I: So you just learned from somebody else? T: Yeah, mostly my dad. Well, my dad was beginning too when we got the first big river boats and was following somebody. You got him on your list ... You know, first trip up the Salmon River, you know, ... there was I think four ... went. Watched guys that had already been there and hit the rocks. [laughter] ... You're never ready till you done it. ... You know, watch, pay attention, learn how to read the water first, and then you just got to jump in. (Ted, 676-702, #29)

I: In terms of running some of these different rivers, do -- is the experience that you have on one river, does that automatically mean that you can run one of these other ones? Like, say, if you're good on the Snake, can you automatically run the Salmon? T: No. I: Or is it kind of particular to each river? T: Yeah, more. I mean, you're going to have better luck - There's a difference between big water, like to run Granite Creek or Rush Creek versus running Vinegar or Ludwig. (Ted, 733-741, #30)

Ben and Jeff

Personal History

Yeah, I mean, if its summer time, [I] might go to Flathead lake. In the spring when the water's high and the rivers are, for us a little bit safer, 'cuz we're not totally familiar with rivers, its not in our back yard. So for us its safer to go when the water's higher and we go in the spring when we're not really interfering with anyone else's activity, when you come right down to it. (Ben, 91-93, #1)

I: ... are there reasons you've decided not to go on the upper part ...? J: [laughs] Scared! B: The time factor, inexperience, and other places that are more comfortable at the moment. Time is the biggest problem. ... time is of a limited commodity to us, so you do whatever ... so you can get the most value for the time you devote to it. (Ben and Jeff, 115-125, #2)

Salmon Unique

J: Well, in my estimation, part of the Snake and this part of the Salmon are ... the ultimate challenge for a jet boater. You don't go on a river that's beyond that. And ... I just haven't had the opportunity or wanted to make the commitment to take my boat on the Salmon. And ... its probably silly , because it's all hearsay. It's all stuff I've heard from other people, except like I say, the one trip I took in there. We went with a fairly inexperienced operator. He didn't give me much confidence. He stuffed the bow in a wave for instance, and the wind shield came out on him, pinned him in the driver's seat, and we had to extricate him before we could beach the boat and we could pump the water out. [laughs] But yet, I mean it was a neat ride, but I've got a lot of respect for those rivers and... so far I just haven't made that commitment to the Salmon. I guess we go to the Snake ... I figure until I learn that one well, I'm not going to move on. B: Well, and those 2 rivers are the premium rivers because they're deep enough, the scenery's great, and they're not currently locked out to us, where... quite a few of the others are, such as the Clark Fork. (Jeff and Ben, 128-139, #3)

Experience

Access

B: We'd both been interested in boats. We like racing. Happened to see activity of this nature that perked our interest. J: Yeah in my case I think it's a love of boating and I've rafted over the years and just ... I really like rivers. And this is the way you power boat rivers, you know [laughs]. B: It allows you to go up river instead of down river. J: Right, instead of just down river. B: Which is ... strangely enough.... I don't think many people realize, ... it's one thing to go in at one spot and come out at another. But when you go up it, then go down it, then up it again, whatever every trip is a new adventure. You learn a lot more about what ... the area you're in and the environment you're in. B: And that lends itself ... it's a lot more user friendly when you come right down to it. (Ben and Jeff, 36-53, #4)

The jet boating ... it opens new horizons. Gives you more appreciation of the vicinity that you live in. And it gives you... the other thing is the time factor. We can go up and down a river, do a hundred and fifty miles in a weekend, or even a day, you know and then go on to other pursuits like making a living. (Ben, 65-68, #5)

J: The one management tool I guess I'd like to see explored is to make that river a corridor rather than actually part of the wilderness itself. B: To maintain it as still a navigable waterway, which it always was. J: Yeah, irrespective of what you do with the rest of the wilderness I would like to the see the river ... to be left a corridor. 'Cuz it leaves it open for everybody. If a person wants to go fishin', he can either do it in a kayak or raft, ... a jet boat, or a drift boat. If he wants to sight see it he can use any one of those methods.... I can't afford outfitters, I can't afford to buy horses to go over in, and the boat allows me to take any given weekend, or even a day, of our choosing ... providing I have the confidence and the skill levels, to do it. (Jeff and Ben, 243-253, #6)

Oh the solitude, the beauty, you know, the whole experience. I don't know that I'd single anything out. I've been down in that area ... Forest Service fire camps as well, and you know, kind of get back into that same area at your leisure where you can look around and stuff, but, there isn't a single thing. It's the total experience. (Jeff, 152-155, #7)

The interaction with your friends and family too. You get out there and your away from the other influences that... you know, the phone doesn't ring. You know, its an opportunity to get to know them again, I guess. [Laughter] (Jeff, 95-97, #8)

Cultural History of Area

J: Pursuit of the history, too, is one of my interests, the history of those areas. And how man has impacted it actually. I: In terms of the uh, some of the old claims that are in there and so forth? J: Yeah. Not so much the Salmon, but thinking of the Snake, uh, the Kirkwood ranch up there, various mining claims. Every place that from ancient times, from what the Indians, you know, the impact they've had upon it to... right up through the jerk that was there last week and I cleaned his cans up. [laughter] (Jeff, 75-82, #9)

Boating - Respect for River, Skill

I: How is ... jet boating on whitewater different from other types of boating, in terms of just going on a lake? B: Thrilling. J: ... the power of the river is the ... it's constantly changing ... it's to be over come, it's a challenge. (Ben and Jeff, 55-59, #10)

... it's one thing to operate a boat in rough water on a lake, or whatever else. The rivers are different ... to that extent. ... B: You've got to know your limitations. (Ben, 255-259, #11)

Wilderness

Awareness of Socio-cultural Presence

I: ... does the fact that the Salmon runs through ... a wilderness area make any difference one way or not? B: Absolutely not. Because it's a manipulated, political wilderness, and I remember it when it was considered a primitive area, it was open. And some of the famous ... guides and recreationists such as Dell Robe and Dobb Smith that took people safely through there, with great experiences. My dad used to go down it and fish, not on a jet boat, since they hadn't been invented then... And thing is its been.. you know, the whole river was surveyed for a railroad, back in the 1890's whatever. So you know, it's... this wilderness is something that's come at a late date that's interfered more than its helped.... But I don't want to see it developed either. (Ben, 179-187, #12)

I: Does the fact that the Salmon runs through a wilderness area, does that make ... any difference at all... to how you would feel about it or think about it? J: Well I don't think so. I like to preserve anything that I use and ... like I say, the history of the Salmon has been the history of boating. Actually there were power boats on that for years and years and years. (Jeff, 157-161, #13)

J: Well ... this area that we're talkin' about, The River of No Return, the boating that was done in there initially was by the settlers, and it was not only to further their life, but in a lot of cases it was a matter of life and death. Getting somebody injured, sick ... out of there, whatever. The first recreational boaters that were in there, it seems to me, were power boaters. They went down stream, but you know I was one of the first rafters back in the early fifties and sixties, and we didn't have boats that were made for the rivers. We used war surplus, World War II ...uh... B: Pontoons... Jeff: Well the life rafts, is what we used. And so the recreational use the float boaters actually came later. Now the jet boat, granted, wasn't developed until the sixties, but you know, that allowed us to go upstream. Before that, there was an awful lot of guys going downstream in smaller boats. B: The technology of all facets of the boating, such as the polystyrene, kevlar, pontoon rafts, just the fabric on the big rafts... have allowed the popularity, and the same with the jet boats. J: But they came after the power boats actually. B: Yeah, you know, they were doing it, but it was in limited numbers... J: Not many people know it but the actual jet drive was developed in New Zealand, but the total package, the welded aluminum jet boat with the jet pump on it, was developed on the Salmon River. ... B: We're probably talkin' the lower Salmon around the Riggins-Whitebird area, but nevertheless on the Salmon River. (Jeff and Ben 431-457, #14)

B: There's only a few private places in along the river in both the proposed corridors, but for the people that own them, to later on again have the door slammed shut as to bein' you know, what they can do with them, isn't ultimately very fair. (Ben, 334, #15)

Characterization

I: Do you ever ... use the Salmon River or the Frank Church Wilderness other than jet boating? ... B: We used to motorcycle in it. ... See that goes back to my argument against wilderness. These areas I used to be able to get into, but time is a problem. Time is a problem. (Ben and Jeff, 207-217, #16)

B: But as we've seen in our society, we've become more intolerant of one another and ... I think this whole thing with this wilderness issue was part of the deal that's done some of that. ... J: ... and the polarization. If it's not wilderness, then its gonna be clearcut or strip mined, you know. There's nothing in between. B: Right, and they're always afraid if it isn't... protected then it would be developed. And that was the beauty of a primitive area. It was areas set aside to be evaluated for society's needs in the future. And to me that was a lot more politically viable attitude to take. (Ben and Jeff, 479-489, #17)

Use Ethic

First of all it's the aesthetics, you want the experience of the river to be pleasant for everyone. And the problem we have is people management. (Ben, 235-238, #18)

That's ... our big problem here any ways... the terrible number of people and the leisure time we got, so there's a lot more of us using it. You know, in the 50's this wasn't an issue. ... there's got to be a balance and, you know, I'm not smart enough to know how to do it. (Jeff, 417-422, #19)

J: You know its been a lot of years, but when I was on this hunk of the Salmon we're talking about, I think the jet boaters, particularly the commercial jet boaters were courteous to a fault. There'd be times when you know, as a rafter you'd just as soon give them right of way and watch 'em come up through there and they wouldn't do that. They'd ... make a point of ... of deferring to the rafters and kayakers.... B: The problem really shows up when you get congestion. J: Competition for the campsites, that type of thing. (Jeff and Ben, 401-408, #20)

The compromise has to be that you limit people, you know. It's a finite resource. You can't have, you know, 200 boats of ANYTHING, in the river at any given time. You can have 200 fishermen, you can't have 200 floaters, you can't have 200 water craft of ANY sort in a limited resource. (Ben, 192-195, #21)

And especially now that there's become a polarity between those that feel they have a better right than another person's right to be there. And to ameliorate that problem is ... I don't know that it can be done. (Ben, 237-238, #22)

From North Fork down through Shoup, Corn Crick and that area, lends itself to both disciplines [rafting and jet boating] if you use 'em as a shared type of deal. But again, there's only room for so many people and... you get too many people with too much liquor, too much conflict in attitudes raises, hackles and makes for a bad experience for both parties. .... But, as we've seen in our society, we've become more intolerant of one another and ... I think this whole thing with this wilderness issue was part of the deal that's done some of that. (Ben, 472-479, #23)

B: But on the other hand, it shouldn't be where the locals... that's their backyard, should be blocked out at any given time to allow someone from New York to take a guided trip and the river shouldn't be set aside for commercial ventures. And I'm totally against commercial ventures... I: OK, so you feel that currently... basically there are some folks that are being excluded... B: Sure. The people that live there. Especially if some of these proposals go through to where they can't... decide it's a nice weekend, its not very far to go, lets go down there and take a trip. And we find ourselves locked out, but we should probably be more locked out than someone who lives either in North Fork or Riggins, or Lewiston, or whatever. I mean that's their back door, and I think they need a priority on it. But I don't think that just because there's an outfitter that's got 4 rafts of 10 people each, and he's charging a thousand bucks a head to go down that river on a regular basis, I find that a little bit excessive. (Ben, 195-205, #24)

Stewardship

... right up through the jerk that was there last week and I cleaned his cans up, you know. [laughter] (Jeff, 75-82, #25)

I like to preserve anything that I use ... (Jeff, 160, #26)

And all parties should recognize they're dealing with a finite resource, and treat it well. (Ben, 397-399, #27)

Safety

Learning

We've hired ... an outfitter to give us lessons. And, you know, used our own boats with him... us as operators, though, him as an instructor. (Jeff, 28-29, #28)

Club Membership

Political

I: ... originally what prompted you to join? B: Politics. ... the attempt by ... rafters out of Baker Oregon, to close the Snake off. And again they were commercial outfitters.... I: OK, What... as far as the organization itself, do you see its purpose being kind of a primarily a political organization, or an educational organization, or a social organization? B: All. ... J: All, but ... at least my understanding... the political end of things is probably their priority. B: It has to be because the fact that, again, their back door was getting locked out. (Ben and Jeff, 291-310, #29)

Service

... at least on the Snake and the Clearwater, to my knowledge, and that's limited, the only river clean ups are done by the power boat association. So cleaning facilities, picking garbage up. In fact one's coming up very shortly, which I imagine we'll participate in. (Ben, 317-318, #30)

Denny

Experience

D: ... we try to spend as much time as possible on weekends in the fall during the steelhead season. And then depending on what kind of run we've got, how frequent that is. A couple years ago it was just about every other weekend. I: No kidding. It was that good of a run? D: Yeah. But this last -- this last winter I only made one trip down there. Fishing was terrible. And then they raised the water level early. Which kind of killed the way we fish. (Denny, 270-299, #1)

I really honestly think that -- that most jet boaters are basically there for the same reason, the excitement of running the river and the pleasure that you have and the relaxed, peaceful attitude that you have when you're there. (Denny, 342, #2)

D: Well, I think in those days basically the whole trip was pretty special to us because we were basically new to jet boating at that point in time and here was water that we knew could be real hazardous. And but it was a real thrill to run it and basically run it successfully. (Denny, 148-149, #3)

Salmon Unique Characteristics

I: Is there something about the Salmon River itself .. that makes it different from other places in your experience? D: Well, ... to my way of thinking, the river itself -- I don't think of anything ...stands out that really makes a great difference to me. But the thing that really sticks out in my mind is the abundance of the sheep population. The first year we went up there, there were sheep everywhere. And while we've seen sheep from time to time in Hells Canyon, not anywhere near to the extent that you do up there. (Denny, 180-188, #4)

Well, the basics are the same. But if you go from the Snake to the Salmon and think you're totally safe because you can't see the tail caused by a rock in the current below it, you better stop and think again because it doesn't show those tails. In the Snake River if there's a rock there, it's going to have a boil over it or a tail below it, or both, and it's going to be obvious that there's a rock. On the Salmon River, it's not that way. I: So your -- your water reading skills are -- have to be a little bit -- D: Your water reading skills need to be a lot higher on the Salmon. (Denny, 445-456, #5)

Because of the fact that [the Salmon's] not running -- normally it's not running enough water fast enough to really pinpoint where the rocks are at. When we were up there, like I say, we were new at boating basically and, you know, we were just kind of on pins and needles all the time it seemed like. We got lucky and I hit one rock and my brother hit one rock, but not -- not enough to do any real damage. (Denny, 426-431, #6)

But the Snake primarily has been our place to go because it's accessible because the permitting hasn't been extremely restrictive. (Denny, 167-177, #7)

D: We've never done any summer time running up there primarily because of the tightness of permits. I: So that's something where if perhaps the permit system loosened up a little bit you might use that season a little bit more? D: Uh-hmm, yeah. (Denny, 138-43, #8)

Salmon Self-Limiting

D: I think in the summer time and fall especially, the river is highly self-restrictive because when the water goes down most boaters realize that, hey, it's a lot more dangerous river, and a lot of them don't want to take the chance and they don't go there. I: Okay. So in that sense the river -- the river itself is imposing the restrictions on the numbers of people that [inaudible] use that area just because of the skill and -- D: Right. (Denny, 575-583, #9)

And then I believe '85 is when we had a real dry, real low water year and we just decided it wasn't worth risking equipment and everything else to go up there. (Denny, 75, #10)

Wilderness

Does the fact that ... that portion of the Salmon River runs through a wilderness area ... make a difference to you one way or the other when you're up there? D: Not really. I quite honestly wasn't aware that the wilderness area started that low until we spoke the other night. I was under the impression that it started somewhere above Ludwig. And so I -- you know, I really wasn't aware that we were actually running the wilderness area portion of it when we were there. ... Doesn't really to me make a whole lot of difference. ... If the wilderness area existence made the difference between having road access and non-road access, then, yes, it would make a difference. ... But in this case it really doesn't make that difference because a road goes to it and stops. I: So if there was -- if there wasn't road access because of the wilderness designation, then how would you feel differently about it? D: Well, the -- if there were not road access due to the wilderness distinction, then the wilderness distinction would become more important because of limiting automobile access. (Denny 196-229, #11)

Safety

Learning

I: When someone ... learns how to run the Salmon, what is the -- what is kind of the proper process to go through, the learning process, apprenticeship, if you will? D: Well, I think to be done right probably would be to go there with somebody who is experienced in it a time or two. And then beyond that I think just lots of trips. You never go when conditions are exactly the same, and you're going to see something every trip that you never saw before. ... I: When you spoke of going along with somebody, by that do you mean actually riding with them while they operate their boat, or following them, or both? D: It would be best if they were riding with you. (Denny 459-472, #12)

D: The first year that we went up there -- in fact, the first two years that we went up there, we followed another guy who had been up there and had experience up there. And in order to do that you've got to follow far enough back to where his wake has a chance to totally settle out before you get to it. Or the water conditions are different than they were when he went through it. I: So following might have only limited -- D: Limited, limited advantages, I think. (Denny, 480-490, #13)

Boating in Groups

I: Was that -- the reason for having multiple boats just for extra company or for, you know, to follow somebody up who knew what they were doing, or for safety in other respects, or -- D: I think when you're boating whitewater, anybody who goes up there thinking that he's going to be the only boat on the river had better re-think his way of doing things, because he needs other boats around from a safety standpoint. D: Once in a while we'll take off and go to Hells Canyon, knowing that I'm going to be the only boat in our little group of boats that's going down, but knowing full well there's going to be another half a dozen boats down there. If I went down there thinking I was going to be the only boat there I'd stay home because you get down there and break down, or
whatever. You get six miles down river from the ramp and blow an engine or whatever might happen, it's -- it'd take you a week to walk out of there. (Denny, 498-509, #14)

On the Salmon, I think [the current regulations on the number of boats] could materially affect the safety standpoint because the restriction is so short that you might be the only boat up there, unless two of you have put in for permits and gotten lucky enough to both of you get permits. ... you may be up there where one guy launched up at Corn Creek and you launched at Vinegar Creek, and between the two of you killed the boat day use, but you're the only boat you see. (Denny, 519-523, #15)

Use Ethic

I think probably attaining some kind of equitable use of the area between floaters, boaters, hikers, horse riders, whatever. Right now the boaters have very little access to it. The floaters have, even though they're restricted, they have a whole lot more accessibility to them. (Denny, 250-255, #16)

For the most part we haven't really had much in the way of problems with floaters or trail users or any of the people down there, because for the most part we're all there for the same reason. (Denny, 376, #17)

D: The biggest complaint that we have with floaters is they might go down there with a party that ... might have twenty ... rafts or kayaks or whatever. And invariably you're going to meet those people right at the foot of a rapids. And you're going to sit there for as long as it takes twenty boats to float through that rapids, and they don't stay together. They spread out and you might be stuck there for an hour. They're far enough apart that they don't get through it quickly, but they're not far enough apart that you can clear the rapids before the next boat needs the right-of-way. I: How does that kind of make you feel when that happens time after time? D: Well, we just kind of grumble ... -- nothing we can do about it. Other than just voice our complaint to each other and go on about having our -- having our good time. I: But it's nothing that would necessarily ruin the trip for you? D: Oh, no, no. (Denny 395-416, #18)

D: And that's our attitude. We try to be as courteous as we can to everybody that's on the water. I: ... what's the floaters' reaction in general, and I realize you made the distinction between the commercial and the private floaters. D: For the most part it's good. Like I said earlier, we really haven't had any major problems with anybody. For the most part you can tell from the attitude who doesn't want you there and who really doesn't care that you're there. If they don't mind that you're being there, I mean, they'll wave, they're friendly, and the whole shooting match. But if they really don't want you there, it doesn't matter how many times you wave at them, they'll just stick their nose in the air and go right on by. (Denny, 686-699, #19)

From some float outfitter's perspective, I don't think you'll ever get them agree [on equitable distribution of use]. Because they have the attitude that it should be THEM and only THEM that are on the river. And they're not going to be happy until it IS only them on the river. (Denny, 599-608, #20)

But you always have the one individual or group who might be trying to accomplish something and while we haven't had any trouble with them yet, it's been obvious from their attitudes and the way they did things what they thought of our being there. ... Float guides primarily. (Denny, 377-386, #21)

The local people have a good relationship basically with the boaters and the floaters both. But then you get up into the higher levels of management and a little more political in nature and one group hollers louder than the other one, or has more money on the table, or something. And you never know for sure what it is. But they seem to listen to that group a lot more than they do the other one. (Denny, 361-370, #22)

Byron

Personal History

I just don't use my boat as much on rivers. I do go out here on the Snake River because it's close by, but I'm not really a strong whitewater user. (Byron, 114-115, #1)

Now, in terms of the summer period, are there any primary reasons why you haven't gone up there during the summer or is that primarily because the fishing's not good then or because of the restriction period? B: Well, I have a cabin in the Cascades so we go there and I use my boat a lot on Cascade Lake and the little lakes around there. (Byron, 147-149, #2)

Experience

I primarily go for [steelhead] fishing. I have not gone for any other reason. I enjoy the scenery up there and I've often talked about taking my wife and just go up the river to see everything, but as of yet I haven't done that. She doesn't like the boat, she doesn't like the jet boat. (Byron, 33-36, #3)

I: When you go on those trips, is there one part of the trip that's the best part, the fishing or the ride, or whatever, or is it kind of the whole package? B: It's the whole experience, I think. Being there on that river and the scenery and seeing the deer and the elk along the river. The whole thing. The two or three guys that go with me are in their early 20's and they enjoy the whole experience. (Byron, 38-42, #4)

I: Can you ... use [your last trip] as an example of what a trip up there has been like ... B: Yes, we went fishing. We just went up for the day. In the past sometimes I go up and spend two days and we camp overnight, but we just go out of Riggins there to, I think it's called Shorts Bar or Long Bar. And we spend the day fishing and usually take a lunch and eat lunch and drive back. (Byron, 49-54, #5)

I think over the years that I've known people in jet boating and stuff, I think the people have gotten more away from, I think it used to be a lot of power and thrill and go fast and hard and do that kind of thing. Cause there was a whole group of people I know who were into that. Now it seems to me like it's more of a family thing and they're going up there and doing potlucks and doing that type of thing. Is what, they've approached me you know. (Byron, 119-122, #6)

I: In your experience, do you feel that the forest service has any misconceptions about jet boaters? B: I think if they had watched them a few years ago. And I'm talking probably ten years ago as far as a generation of people, they would have. Because I think a lot more of the guys that I knew then were really into let's put the horsepower in the boat and let's slam it up those rapids. (Byron, 129-133, #7)

Club Membership

I know the president of the Northwest Whitewater Association and I know the vice-president and both in the past have been personal friends of mine (Byron, 113, #8).

Salmon Unique Characteristics

I: Is there something about the Salmon ... some unique qualities it has that you can think of? B: Oh, down in the canyon, the scenery. I have not been to Hells Canyon so I can't speak from that perspective but for me and the other rivers I've been on it's just down in that canyon and it's beautiful. ... I: Does the Salmon have any kind of special meaning to you, do you have any special ties to it? B: No, not really, I don't. Other than just the steelhead fishing. (Byron, 69-83, #9).

Wilderness

Characterization

I: Now, does the fact that that portion of the river runs through a wilderness area there, does that make a difference to you one way or the other? B: In some respects that it's pretty much roadless along some of that. You know there's not going to be a lot of people in there in general, yeah, it makes a difference. (Byron, 74-77, #10)

I read somewhere else that someone was thinking they were needing to build an interpretive center. I'm not for that. I'm more for letting the people see it in it's natural state. (Byron 186-188, #11)

Use Ethic

I: If you were given the job of managing that area, that river corridor, what do you think would be the important issues to focus on? B: I would like to see it stay the way it is. I'm not an advocate for limited use either because I know there are some people that are making their living trying to guide down through there and that type of thing. But by the same token, I'd like to see it stay and not become too commercialized. I don't like that aspect of it either. (Byron, 89-95, #12)

I read somewhere in the paper that they've increased the fees for the people on the river and if that is used properly to maintain and keep it the way it is, I agree wholeheartedly with it and don't mind paying it. (Byron, 185, #13)

Safety

Learning

I: In terms of ... say learning to run a river like the Salmon, ... what kind of process do they need to go through to be able to run that river safely and successfully? B: I think I rode through the rough water, the white water, a couple of times with a guy and then he went with me in my boat because each boat even has a different power level and abilities and so just because you ride with a guy whose got a boat with the ultimate power and you get in your boat - mine's a 20 footer with a 302 in it so it doesn't have the big 454, 460 in it. But the guy that I went with has a lot of experience doing it and he showed me how I could handle my boat with the power it's got and go through it. (Byron, 175-178, #14)

I: In terms of running these rivers ... is it universal stuff you learn or is it more specific to each area? B: I think you learn each area. I would never go, personally myself, I wouldn't go on Hells Canyon without going with someone that had been through that experience before because the volume of water is a big difference. I'm probably one of the cautious jet boaters too because when I went to the Salmon the first time, I went with someone that I knew and they took me through those areas. (Byron, 168-173, #15)